RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

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Companion volume to
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RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

BY

SIR FLINDERS PETRIE
F.R.S., F.B.A.

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PREFACE

This outline of Religious Life in Ancient Egypt is a companion volume to that on the Social Life, issued last year. Both are popular summaries of parts of the material gathered in the "Descriptive Sociology of Egypt," which will soon appear in accordance with the will of Herbert Spencer. Most books on this religion have been concerned with the theology and with theory, rather than with practice. Here the view is taken of the religion as part of the daily life, and in its social connections. The more primitive and popular beliefs are placed together, as representing those earlier stages which must be grasped before we can understand the growth of the system of later times. The amount of new material of the early ages which has been found in recent work has greatly extended our vision of the origins of the religion and institutions; it is here linked with the historic records already familiar to us. I have

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to thank Professor Breasted for permission to quote portions of a few of his translations.

APPROXIMATE DATES

DYNASTY.			BY EGYPTIANS.	BY BERLIN.
First Prehistoric Age			About 8000 B.C.	
Second „	„		„ 7000 „	
Dynasty I.	Mena		5500 „	3400 B.C.
„ IV.	Khufu		4700 „	2900 „
„ XII.	Amenemhat I		3500 „	2000 „
„ XVIII.	Tehutmes III		1500 „	1500 „

In this scene, from a tomb of the XIXth dynasty, the Tree-goddess is seen appearing amid the branches of a sycomore tree loaded with figs. She holds a tray of cakes and fruits, and a vase of drink which she pours out to the lady before her. The goddess is here identified with the primitive Sky-goddess Nut, being called "Nut who bore all the gods of heaven." The seated official was "keeper of the garden and lake of the palace of Rameses II in the temple of Amen," that is, at Karnak. Unfortunately the names of him and his wife have both been spitefully erased.

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REFERENCES

The full references will be found in the " Descriptive Sociology of Egypt," soon to be issued. The sources of some less-known details are stated by the following abbreviations :—

A.C.W. = *Abydos* III, Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall.
A.E. = *Ancient Egypt* (journal).
A.S. = *Annales du Service.*
Ath. = Athenaeus.
B.D.R. = Breasted, " Development of Religion."
B.E L. = Bates, " Eastern Libyans."
B.M. = British Museum.
C.T.K. = Caulfeild, " Temple of the Kings."
E.R. = Engelbach, " Riqqeh."
G.A. = Garstang, " Arabah."
G.M. = Garstang, " Mahasnah."
L.D. = Lepsius, " Denkmäler."
M.A.A. = MacIver, " Amrah and Abydos."
N.F.H. = Naville, " Festival Hall."
P.Ab. = Petrie, " Abydos."
P.A.C. = Petrie, " Arts and Crafts."
P.Am. = Petrie, " Amulets."
P.D. = Petrie, " Deshasheh."
P.Dend. = Petrie, " Dendereh."
P.D.P. = Petrie, " Diospolis Parva."
P.G.R. = Petrie, " Gizeh and Rifeh."
P.H.E. = Petrie, " History of Egypt."
P.H.K.A. = Petrie, " Heliopolis and Kafr Ammar."
P.H.S. = Petrie, " Historical Studies."
P.I.O.S. = Plutarch, " Isis and Osiris," trans. Squire.
P.K. = Petrie, " Koptos."
P.L. = Petrie, " Labyrinth."
P.M. = Petrie, " Medum."
P.M.M. = Petrie, " Meydum and Memphis III."
P.N.B. = Petrie, " Naqada and Ballas."

P.N.D. = Petrie, "Nebesheh and Defenneh."
P.P.T. = Petrie, "Pyramids and Temples."
P.Q. = Petrie, "Qurneh."
P.R.P. = Petrie, "Roman Portraits."
P.R.T. = Petrie, "Royal Tombs."
P. Sin. = Petrie, "Researches in Sinai."
P.S.T. = Petrie, "Six Temples."
P.T.A. = Petrie, "Tell Amarna."
P.Tar. = Petrie, "Tarkhan."
P.T.C. = Petrie, "Tombs of the Courtiers" (1925).
R.G.B.E. = De Rougé, "Geographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte."

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

CHAPTER I

THE GODS AND THEIR TEMPLES

The Presence of the Gods

In the present volume we shall consider the position of religion in the life of the Egyptians; it is not the theory of the theology or beliefs that we are concerned with, but the practical part which religious observances and faith took in the daily life. Nothing is more prominent in the cities of Egypt than the temples; they were the centres of each community; the great wall which surrounded each temple formed a fortress, which was the last refuge in case of invasion. The most magnificent construction, the finest art, the richest offerings were all concentrated on the temple. Nor was the temple a place apart from the people. In it were held the great feasts which were the delight of every one, great and small. Thousands came on the high days to sit

in the wide court and enjoy the bounty of the god. The temple was the heart of the city, which lay packed around it like a mediaeval city around its cathedral.

The gods were, therefore, very present in the people's life ; or rather *the* god of the city, who was to their ideas supreme, for whom they would fight, and whose honour was their own. Not that they all looked on their god in the same manner. To the oldest stratum of the folk, particularly in the villages around, it would be the sacred animal that was most thought about, the bull or ram or crocodile which had been venerated from unknown ages. To the educated townsman, probably Ptah or Amen or Set was the great god. The same thing may be seen in Europe, where the old beliefs and sanctities remain—in Brittany, in Italy, in Greece,—overlaid by the official forms of Christianity, which took the substance and gave it the shadow of a new name, to fit the new orthodoxy. Yet the old faiths linger.

Earliest Nature Gods

Apparently, the earliest deities were the personifications of the sky and the earth. The sky goddess, Nut, is appealed to for protection, by spells in the Book of the Dead, while she was so lost in antiquity that there is not a single

temple or statue, or even a single amulet of her, known. Geb, the earth god, is equally unknown beyond the mere mention of his name, and is even disregarded in the spells. The few sites attributed to Geb and Nut are unknown historically and had no temples. Shu, the atmosphere, separating sky and earth, was equally destitute of temple or worship, though connected with some southern towns. Yet these primitive gods were continually remembered ; Nut was appealed to, in coffin inscriptions, down to late times, and amulets of Shu were made in the XIIth dynasty and were common about the XXXth.

The Osiris Family

When the Osiris family were brought in as gods, probably by the Libyan people of the first prehistoric age, they were said to be children of Nut and Geb. But the temples of this family are by no means early. The special sanctuary of Osiris, at Abydos, was not his early home, nor till the IXth dynasty does he appear there ; four other gods precede him, who are not found later. Philae, his celebrated temple, was entirely late. Nor are there any early temples of Isis or Horus. No figures of the family are known until limestone carvings and small amulets (about the VIth dynasty) of Isis sitting on the ground with Horus.

There is only one priest of Osiris and not a single one of Isis in the whole period of the Old Kingdom. Thus the celebrated gods of the early spells do not seem to have had any material pomp of worship. The oldest shrine of which the deity is recorded is that of Neit, in the reign of Aha ; yet Neit has no prayers or spells addressed to her in the Book of the Dead. There seems thus no connection between the popularity of gods in the prehistoric spells for the future life, and the frequency of their temples and priesthoods in the early dynasties.

The Dynastic Gods

The worship of Ra was at Heliopolis in the later prehistoric age, and he was greatly appealed to, in the spells for the future life. Yet he was practically ignored in the early dynasties, and it was not till the Ra priesthood got control of the kingdom, in the Vth dynasty, that any priest of Ra is recorded. There were "great seers" of Heliopolis—the sons of Sneferu and Khufu—but there is no proof that the magician was high priest of Ra at that period ; the office may only have been taken to secure the property. It seems, then, that the predynastic gods were set aside by the dynastic race when they came in, and in the first four dynasties the priesthoods, held by the high families, were almost entirely

for their own deities. Thus, in the Old Kingdom, there were seventy-nine of Hat-her, apparently the principal goddess of the dynastic people, twenty-six of Maot, twenty-two of Neit, eleven of Ptah, and twenty-four priests of various forms of Horus, who was adopted as the royal god of the dynasties. The older gods were none of them so much honoured; Nekheb, Uazit, and Osiris had only five priests between them, and Isis had not one. We cannot, therefore, expect to find in the early times any temples of the older gods, they were ignored officially. Ra regained his older sway in the Vth dynasty; but it was not till the Middle Kingdom that the Osiris family began to come into their former power, as the intrusive race became submerged in the older population. We have taken these changes of the recognition of the gods to begin with, as it makes us see the wide effect that races and politics had upon the religious life.

The racial sources of the various deities which were brought into Egypt are shown partly by the tradition and history, partly by the geographical positions of their worship (A.E. 1917, 109). Owing to the desert surroundings of the Nile valley, access to it is difficult. From north or south it is open, but is so long that an impulse at either end does not travel far. From the west it is accessible from the Oases at intervals along its

length; from the east there are few connections—the head of the gulf of Suez leading to the Delta, and a desert road of eighty miles just below Thebes.

After the primitive gods of heaven and earth of the earliest times, the first civilised immigration seems to have brought in the Osiris family from the Libyan side, as they are spread equally over the country. In contrast to that, the worship of Ra mainly entered the eastern Delta, and partly by the Hammamat road. This agrees with its having come with the second prehistoric civilisation from Asia. In the south the Ra worshippers found another Asiatic type of the sun, as the winged *hudet*, or "splendour," which flew across the sky; this worship was centred at Edfu.

Sun Worship

The Ra worship was much more organized than the earlier devotions of the country. In prehistoric times it formed the only known principality. It had the earliest political power of a priesthood; it set up the great obelisks in adoration of Ra, by command of each of the kings of the Vth dynasty; it had the immense models of the equipage of Ra, the colossal boats built up in brickwork at the side of the temple. These were the *mandet* boat for the ascent of the sun, and the *mesektet* boat for the descent. As early as the Ist

dynasty, the king's comb was engraved with the boat of Ra flying on the *hudet* wings, combining the two sun worships (P.T.C., sect. 8). This ship of Ra conveyed also all the gods that were harmonized with him, and all the dead that claimed his protection.

The sun worship in the south, based on the *hudet* winged sun, absorbed the ideal Horus of the Osiris family. There was a fusion of the falcon worship of Hierakonpolis and Edfu, of the *hudet* sun, of Ra, and of the human child Horus, the avenger of Osiris; all these resulted in the hawk-headed man bearing the sun disc on his head. A later fusion was that of Ra with Amen and Min, in the god of the XIXth dynasty, Amen Ra. The change to the Aten worship in the XVIIIth dynasty, under Akhenaten, was undoubtedly due to Syrian influence. The name has been detected earlier, and the worship was built on the foundation of the Ra worship of Heliopolis, yet it showed entirely new and original features. These were the abandonment of all human form, the adoration of the rays of the sun which are the means of its action, the purifying of the worship from everything outside of a simple nature-worship, and the independent point of view of life with which it was linked. The sun-worship never recovered its former dominance after the destruction of Atenism; Ra was

linked with Amen and other gods in all later times.

The Heavenly Bodies

The moon was probably worshipped before the sun, being connected with the animal gods, the baboon and the ibis of Tehuti, the god of lunar measure, of wise reflection, and of research. In a country where the need of the sun for growth was not obvious, and its heat was not sought, and where the night was favourable for travel, the moon was looked on as a helper ; the month was more obviously important to man than the year, as in Arabia. After this, the moon was linked with Isis, especially in late times ; and the great goddess of the dynastic people, Hat-her, was grafted upon both ideas : the moon became her head-dress, and she was identified with Isis.

The planets were all taken as manifestations of the sun-god, each a falcon with a different title, and called Horus. They were never worshipped, and only appear in astrology.

The stars were specially divided in the earliest times into the deathless stars which circulate round the pole and never set, and the stars which set each night like the sun. The constellations were almost all different from those of the Babylonians, which came to us through the Greeks ; a few great figures covered most of the sky, such

as " the mighty man " and " the hippopotamus "; this was natural to people who could imagine the whole sky as one goddess stretched out. There is no trace of star-worship, and the connection of the stars with certain deities is their only religious aspect.

Not only celestial bodies were honoured, but also the zodiacal light, which was named Sepdu, the God of the East, and was represented as a tall cone. It is evident that the Egyptians regarded it before sunrise, both by its connection with the east and by the name, derived from *sepd*, " to prepare " or " get ready," as it came before sunrise. Similarly, Sirius was named Sepdet, as preceding the sun by its heliacal rising.

The Animal Gods

The animal gods must always have had a definite location—hut, house, or temple. They had keepers who fed them, and priests for the ceremonies. The sacred animal was inviolable ; to kill one deliberately was punished with death, and even the accidental or involuntary killing of a falcon, an ibis, or a cat was also capital crime. When one of any sacred species was killed as an offering, those around beat themselves in penitence.

The selection of a sacred individual for worship

was fenced with minute examination. The Apis bull had a white spot of crescent form on the side, or a white triangle on the forehead, a flying vulture patch on the back, a black lump under the tongue. Of course, these signs and others were never exactly found, but marks approaching them were sought. The mourning and shaving for the predecessor were continued until the successor was selected. He was then kept at Nilopolis (south of Heliopolis) for forty days' feeding, and during this time a fertility ceremony took place, after which the bull was put in a golden cabin on a barge (a real *dahabiyeh*) and taken to Memphis. There, in general, it lived in private, but it was brought out in processions accompanied by a crowd of singing boys. Before the sanctuary were two chambers visible, and the bull entering one or other was accepted as an oracular reply. He was sometimes allowed in a large forecourt, where he could be shown to visitors. There was here another sanctuary for the dam of Apis.

Sacrifices of bulls were made to the Apis, burnt offerings with libations of wine. These may be connected with the bull fights in the dromos of Ptah, which were popular spectacles. The recorded ages of Apis bulls are sixteen and a half years under Psamtek I, and seventeen and a half years under Nekau. The Apis was only

allowed to live for a fixed period (twenty-five years according to Plutarch), and was then drowned in a tank by the priests. This is to be connected with the sacramental eating, which left only broken bones and the head to be embalmed, as found by Mariette. After that there was a vast ceremony of the burial of Apis in the Serapeum. From fifty to a hundred talents was sometimes spent on the burial of a sacred animal. The immense granite sarcophagi of the bulls, in the Serapeum, date from the XXVIth dynasty and later. This account may be taken as the type of ceremonies for the sacred animals, being the most completely recorded. The populace kept pottery images of the head and shoulders of Apis in the houses, many of which have been found.

At Sais there was a ceremonial figure of a kneeling cow. It was in the royal palace, in a richly furnished chamber. The head and neck were covered with very thick gold, and a purple cloth laid over the body. A golden disc was between the horns. It was taken out yearly in procession. The cow was actually worshipped at Momemphis and Aphroditopolis (Atfih); also both bulls and cows were kept at many places as sacred animals, but were not worshipped as gods. This distinction may be due to the decadence of animal worship, suppressed by the introduction of

higher divinities. Perhaps it was due to keeping tribal animals independently of the gods, like the animals kept by various British regiments now.

The ram was connected with Amen. Whether there was a stage of simple animal worship at Thebes before the advent of Amen is not clear. It may be that the ram and Amen were already associated in the Oasis of Ammon before their tribe entered Egypt. The connection was purely local, and it is certain that the ram was widely worshipped before any of the human gods. At Mendes it was connected with Osiris, at Heliopolis with Atmu, at Herakleopolis it was Hershefi, at Thebes, Amen, at Elephantine, Khnumu. At Thebes the sacred ram was slain each year at the feast of Amen, and the skin put upon the statue of Amen. The catacomb there has not been found; but at Mendes the granite sarcophagi are known, and at Elephantine the mummied rams were found, covered with elaborate bead-work and cartonnage.

The Animals of Set

The animals of Set are curiously different, the ass, crocodile, and hippopotamus. They seem to have been attributed to him by the Osiris tribe, as being all of them considered noxious. The hippopotamus and ass show that the connection was in the agricultural stage, when those animals

ravaged the crops, and before the ass was domesticated. Till late times, similarly, the gazelle was an evil to be repelled by Horus. From the slate palette carving, we know that wild asses abounded in Libya. The ass does not seem to have been kept anywhere as sacred, nor the hippopotamus; the sacred crocodiles are quite independent of the Set connection. The ass was sacrificed or starved during festivals, in hatred of Set. The ass head appears on figures of Set (P. Am., xxi. g) of Roman age, and the actual head was used in invocations to Set to destroy enemies. The hippopotamus is represented as worshipped on a stele from Qau, where Set was established; and a fine standard weight in the form of the hippopotamus head was found in Set's temple at Nubt.

The hippopotamus, humanised as Ta-urt, "the great one," is frequent in charms and amulets, but was not worshipped except at Karnak, where her temple, of Ptolemaic date, stands on the west of the temple of Khonsu, and a well-known statue of her was found in a shrine in the town. She was regarded as the guardian of pregnancy.

There was a great catacomb of dogs at Abydos, but the dog was only sacred in the sense of being mourned for at death; it was not worshipped—unless, indeed, at Cynopolis—nor are there any

dog amulets. The jackal was the sacred animal, and there must be the remains of a temple dedicated to it, at Asyut, under the town. A great number of tablets of adoration of the jackal god were found here lately, put away in an old tomb. The jackal here was the "opener of the ways," Upuaut, who led the way amid the ravines of the desert to the blessed west. Of Anubis no temples are known, although he was widely venerated as the god of cemeteries, where the jackal abides.

Sacred Birds

The vulture was the emblem of the old capital of the south, Nekheb, now El Kab; but there is no statement of its being worshipped there, though it represented the goddess Nekheb. A colossal vulture was dedicated to Sekhmet by Amenemhat III (P.K., 11), at Koptos, which seems out of place there. The falcon was certainly a most sacred bird, as at Hierakonpolis, where the magnificent temple figure was found, of copper with gold head (Q.H.I., xli.–xliii.). It was also sacred at Philae (S.), and at Edfu, as an important centre of Horus-worship. A falcon is placed in the lesser temple at Karnak. At Koptos two falcons were the nome symbol; as the elder Horus (*i.e.*, before incorporation in the Osiris family) was worshipped at the neighbouring city of

Kus, the falcons may represent the two forms of Horus. In Lower Egypt the falcon, though sacred, was not actually an object of worship.

The ibis, with its peculiar searching walk, was the emblem of Tehuti, the god of knowledge. Though found embalmed at several places, and common in bronze figures, no large figure is known. It does not seem that it was actually worshipped. The oldest figures of Tehuti have the ibis head (L.D., ii., 2), and standards with ibis occur in processions.

The *sment* goose was kept at Thebes, as sacred to Amen, and is represented on tablets ; but there is no trace of its being worshipped or being a tribal animal.

The sacred crocodile is described more fully than other animals, except the Apis. It was kept in a lake, where it was pampered and completely tamed. The priests would open its mouth, and feed it with cake and meat, honey and milk. The crocodiles were ornamented with crystal and gold earrings in their ears, and bracelets on their fore paws. They were treated as well as possible while alive, and when dead were embalmed and buried in the catacombs. The temples of Sebek, the crocodile god in the Fayum, were at the Labyrinth, also on the north of the lake at Dimeh, and on the east at Kom Ushim.

There are no detailed records of sacred serpents,

except the serpent at Metelis, near Alexandria. It was kept in a tower, and attended by priests. They put cakes of flour and honey in a bowl, and left the chamber closed. On returning next day the cakes were gone, but the serpent would not be seen (W.M.C., iii., 335).

Fish were sacred, and in some cities were carefully preserved and not eaten; the fishes buried in a cemetery were packed in ashes as a preservative, and bronze models seem to have been frequently made. There is no temple or priesthood known for any fish, nor any large image for worship.

The Deification of the King

From very early times the king was regarded as of divine destination at his death, if not of divine origin. The ceremony of his deification took place when he "went to Osiris" and was identified with Osiris. This seems to have been at the festival known as the *sed-heb* or "festival of ending." The earliest scene of it shows the king dressed in the close-fitting long garment like Osiris, holding the flail and crook of Osiris, seated in a high shrine approached by steps. Before him are captives dancing in an enclosure. This is of Narmer-Mena. A little later, king Den is shown on the same high throne, and another crowned king is performing the ritual dance before

him, which belongs to the coronation ceremonies. In the earlier scene is a woman seated in a covered litter. The apparent interpretation of it is that the king was deified as Osiris, and the successor married the heiress, was crowned, and performed the ritual dances. The tightly clad Osiride figures of the king are associated with Sed-festivals throughout history. The *ending* was that of the king's life; in African custom the kings were killed after a term of years, as in Ethiopia and now further south (P. Sin., 181); then in historic times this was commuted to the Osirification of the king at the appointment of his successor, while he lived on to his natural death, as the living Osiris. The chapel of Sonkh-ka-ra for this ceremony, with the cenotaph sarcophagus, and parts of the statue, were found on the top of one of the peaks of Thebes, and apparently another chapel, for Senusert II, stood on the highest rock at Lahun. An Osiride figure of one of the Mentuheteps was found buried in a pit at Deir el Bahri, probably representing the burial of the king when he became Osiris. The period of this deification seems to have been connected with the end of a week of change of Sothis rising, or thirty years, and most of the dates of festivals known agree with this period (P. Sin., 180). It was thus the Osirification at the Sed feast of Hatshepsut which constituted her apotheosis, and so

gave rise to the worship of her, and to her statues, while she was still reigning. Under the Ptolemies, deification began in the sixteenth year of Philadelphus. Ptolemy Soter was deified after his death. In Roman times, the emperors had their own worship as chief of the State; this, and their deification after death, were purely Roman, but it would harmonize with their position in Egypt. More Egyptian in theory was the deification of the drowned Antinous as Osiris-Antinous "worshipped there [in his temple] as a god by the prophets and the priests of the South and of the North as well as by the people of Egypt." At Arsinoe there was a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, where the birthdays of the Emperors and of Rome were kept.

The Statues

The statues of the gods have mostly perished in the various conquests of Egypt by alien peoples, and at the acceptance of Christianity. The oldest known are the limestone figures of Min, from Koptos, and lions and bird from there. The work of these is far earlier than the style of the Ist dynasty, and they must belong to the earliest settlement of the dynastic people in Egypt, who seem to have brought the worship of Min from Punt. The three figures differ from the usual Egyptian attitude of the god, by having

the right arm hanging down at the side, and the hand pierced horizontally for some attachment. The work is very unformed, the legs and arms scarcely marked out by a groove. Down the side hung a flap, or bag, with low relief figures hammered out, of saw-fish, *pteroceras* shells, stag's head, elephant, bull, and hyaena. This accords with the Red Sea route of the people who carved these. The three statues were about thirteen feet high, when complete.

The oldest historic figures of gods are the baboons of Tehuti carved in diorite, which were found in the lower temple of Khafra, the granite temple at Gizeh. These have been left unheeded since they were found sixty years ago. The temple figures of kings are well known from the early dynasties: Khosekhem at Hierakonpolis, Khufu at Abydos, Khafra and Menkaura at Gizeh, and many others of the later dynasties.

The next figures of gods are those from the Labyrinth, which were life-size, carved in very hard white limestone. There were three of Sebek with the crocodile head, one of Hather with human face and cow's ears, and one of an unknown goddess with palm branches rising from the head. These goddesses are mummiform, with deep collars beneath the wig. The faces had been bashed away at some invasion, while the statues remained upright for ages longer.

Statues of the gods are seldom found, but there were many hundreds of black granite statues of the goddess Sekhmet made under Amenhetep III, and stored in rows in the temple of Mut at Karnak, and also in the funerary temple of that king. They were largely carried away by the early explorers, and are familiar in most museums. After these, the only temple statue is of Amen seated, protecting Heremheb ; this is rather over life size, carved in hard white limestone. In the XIXth dynasty, Ramessu II dedicated two great sandstone figures of Ptah at Memphis, one over ten feet high. Also there are many groups of the king and gods cut in red granite, found all over Egypt; these were rather for the glory of the king than for worship of the gods. The hawk head of a statue of Ra, in hard white limestone, was found at Abydos, of unknown age (P.T.C., xxx., 5).

It will be seen, thus, that there are very few examples of the great temple statues, at least until the XIXth dynasty.

A remarkable object enthroned, and stated to represent Amen, has been found figured and in model (A.S., ix., 64). The outline of the mass seems much like a sacred ram mummified. It may well be the form of the Libyan god Ammon of the Oasis, as supposed by Bates. If so, it is the only instance of the animal mummy being

worshipped and enthroned (B.E.L., 191–4). The mummified falcon was, however, worshipped in the east of Egypt. The dispersion of the worship of Amen is noted above as pointing to its coming through the Oases ; and there seems no reason to question that the primitive Oasis worship of Ammon, or Hammon, was the origin on the one hand of the Egyptian Amen, or Amun, and on the other of the Carthaginian Baal Haman.

Some large figures of Bes, in a shrine of his at Saqqareh, were modelled in stucco and coloured. They are of very coarse style, being Roman in period. The figures of Hapi, the Nile, were not worshipped, apparently ; they were dedicated by kings in the temples, as those of black granite from Tanis, and that dedicated by Usarkon, son of Karamat, daughter of King Pasebkhanu.

The Temple

The temple was the house of the god, and the priest was his servant, who served him like any earthly master. Such a principle accounts at once for the whole outline of the service of the gods. Though the earliest shrines of slight material have all perished, the figures of them in the early writing show the forms ; and though the peasants' houses have all vanished, fathoms deep under Nile mud, the models of pottery

made for the wandering soul have preserved all the stages of the growth. The simplest hut, which we still see made, is a combined chamber of reeds or maize stalk, with a roof projecting a little in front for shade, and a rope as a fender across the entrance, to prevent animals from using it. Precisely this is the simplest hieroglyph for a shrine, the sides made with upright reeds, or with interwoven reeds or palm sticks, so as not to need cross binding. The next stage is to make the hut wider and put a row of reed columns in front, to support the roof; the portico thus begins, the essential feature of every house and temple. Then, next, the hut is divided into three chambers side by side, and so were the earliest temples that we know, of the Ist dynasty (P. Ab., II., l.) and rather later (Q.H., lxxii.). This plan persists even to the Christian chapels at Oxyrhynkhos. The house models always have a courtyard in front, and this was the constant feature of the temples. In the earliest views, the emblem of the god was placed on a pole in the court, and on either side of the gateway stood poles with flags; these continued as the row of flagstaves along the front of the pylon.

This early system of three chambers side by side, for a temple, was increased to five chambers in the pyramid temples of the IVth and Vth dynasties, and to seven chambers in the temple of

Sety I at Abydos. The earlier three and five chambers appear in the temples of kings in the XIXth and XXth dynasties. Besides this form of temple adapted from the house, there were two other types of different purport. The temple for a central statue had a box shrine, in which the statue or emblem or animal was kept. The only instance of a shrine and part of a statue remaining is at Nebesheh (P.N.D., 14), where the shrine weighed nearly 60 tons. Of this type, the complete examples are Edfu and Dendereh. Most of these shrines are of Saite period; but they seem to be related to the great granite shrines with figures all in one block, at the Labyrinth (P.L., xxiii.).

The third type of temple was for a boat-shrine, or ark, of the god. This ark was essentially to be carried in procession, like the boat still carried by natives of Luqsor at feasts. Its protective temple needed, therefore, to be arranged with a processional passage through it, and returning around it, and with a high stand on which the barque could be deposited. This requires a doorway front and back, and a passage along the outside of the shrine. In the centre of the shrine was the stand for the barque, of which we have one example in the block of red granite with figures of Tehutmes III and Mentu-ra (B.M., 363). This type of processional shrine is seen in the temples of

Tehutmes III at Aswan and Medinet Habu, of Luqsor, Karnak, and of Khonsu at Karnak. From the front and back doors, it seems that the temple of Pepy at Abydos was processional (P. Ab., II., liii.). The great temple of the Labyrinth had six courts side by side, faced by six others; in all, there were twenty-one courts, each nome having its own place for the worship of Amenemhat III.

Foundation Deposits

Beneath the foundations of temples, or other large buildings, there were usually deposits of objects with the king's name. The earliest yet known are of Pepy I, VIth dynasty, and they were continued till the Ptolemies. These deposits are usually under the corners, and the junctions of walls; they suffice to show the form and date of a building of which not one stone is left. The early deposits are mostly of pottery, with a glazed name-plaque inserted in a brick. Later, they are samples of all the materials—metals and fine stones—with the king's name, vases of alabaster and pottery, models of tools used in building, models of the food and the millstones with, usually, a bull's head and haunch in earlier times. The idea seems to have been to provide all the materials for the building, and the food

and utensils for the workmen, to be used by the *ka*s of the men to keep the *ka* of the building eternally in repair.

The Temple Service

Clemens gives the clearest account of the general impression of a temple in living order. "The porticoes, vestibules and groves are constructed with great splendour; the halls are adorned with many columns; the walls are perfectly splendid with rare stones and brilliancy of colour; the sanctuary shines with gold, silver and electrum, and with a variety of glittering stones from India or Ethiopia, and the adytum is hung with curtains of gold tissue. If you enter the circuit of the holy place, and, hastening to behold what is most worthy of your search, you seek the statue of the deity, one of the priests, who performs the rites there, steps forward to introduce you to the object of his worship, looking upward with a grave and reverent face, as he chants the paean hymn in his native tongue. But no sooner does he draw aside a portion of the veil, as if to show a god, than you find ample reason for smiling at the mysterious deity. For the god you sought is not there; but a cat, or a crocodile, or a native serpent, or some such animal."

At the entrance to the temple, in Roman times, there was purifying water, a portion of which was released on putting a coin into the box. There were also wheels to be turned as a symbolic action, which looks as if it had been derived from some early form of the Buddhist prayer-wheel. The earliest example of offerings, in a temple service, is the altar of Sneferu in his temple, which is deeply corroded by pouring out drink offerings of sour liquids. The account of Herodotos implies that the quantity of offerings had become a serious drain on the public by the time of Khufu, when he abolished them. At that period there was formed, in the temple of Abydos, a thick bed of ashes, in which were innumerable little forked pieces of burnt clay. It looks as if these were substitutes for the forbidden sacrifices, to imitate the forelegs of animals.

Before any service, purification was needed. The king required to be purified in the Cool Pool, near Heliopolis, before he went up the sandhill of Heliopolis to sacrifice. After that, he entered the temple of Ra and there purification and incense offering was performed, before he ascended to see Ra. This ceremonial is recorded because the Ethiopian Paonkhy wished to show that he followed the whole ritual of a king. The scene of purification is often represented as being per-

formed by the gods, who, standing one each side of the king, pour a stream of water over him. The same is represented for private persons, and the regular title of a priest was the *uab*, a kneeling man with a stream pouring from a vase over him. He bathed twice in the day and twice in the night, a system which may be continued in the washing before the muslim prayers. The little tanks for foot-washing were found in the temple of Koptos. (See *Priesthood purification.*)

After the purifying came the offering of incense; this was repeated at noon by burning myrrh, and in the evening burning a compound incense called kyphi. This offering of incense has been continued by the Coptic church, in which the first service (28 pp.) before the Sacramental Liturgy of St. Basil (67 pp.) is called "The prayer at the offering of the Morning Incense." The copying of house service in the temple is seen in this; the servant first washes, and then comes to perfume the master, and bring his first refection before rising.

The mode of offering was unlike the western. The censer was a bronze pan at the end of a long arm, on which was the box to hold the pellets of resin. In the pan was placed a heated saucer of pottery with burning charcoal, on which the resin was placed to burn. These saucers, with resin melted over the charcoal, are found thrown aside.

The whole course of daily service began with the series of actions each carried out with a long speech. This may not have been entirely aloud, as there are long prayers and adorations recited inaudibly by the priest in the Coptic service. So, anciently, much may have been recited mentally, or by "intention." First the incense was offered, to perfume the whole sanctuary. Then the priest opened the chapel and saluted the god with many prostrations, and chanting hymns. Sand was sprinkled on the floor. Then the sacred vessels were taken, and the daily toilet of the god performed. Twice, water was sprinkled over the statue, which was then clothed in linen bands, white, green, red, and brown. Then the statue was anointed, and painted with green paint under the eyes, and black on the eyelids. Then the food was placed before the god. The food and the linen could next day be offered to the statues of dead persons, which were placed in the temple. Thus a man often secured his own offerings, and insured his own benefit (P. Tar. I., 36), by making an endowment to the god, which could not be revoked. The copying of domestic service is obvious. The house was fumigated, the floor sanded; then the master was awakened. He was washed, dressed, had the preservative eye paints put on, and then partook of his morning meal. Processions were the great external

part of the worship. The barque of the god (C.T.K., iii.-vi.) was carried, just as a noble was carried, on a stand supported on two long poles, which rested on the shoulders of two rows of priests. At other times, it might be the emblem of the god, such as the sacred head of Osiris, that was carried (P.T.C., xxxi., 4). The regular position for a barque in the temple was upon the block stand in the inner chamber. Where there were many gods worshipped together, the barques seem to have been kept on a long stone bench running round a hall, as at Abydos (C.T.K., xix., 18). The purpose of the procession was for the god to visit another temple, or to join in some great ceremony, or to express his will oracularly by being heavy on his bearers at a particular spot. On returning to the temple, the barque was received with sacrifices and prayers, and decorated with garlands. Offerings were placed on altars, and sometimes the king himself presented incense and libations. If the queen joined, it was as high priestess, playing the sistrum and holding a large bouquet. Then the king could visit the god, drawing the bolt and opening the doors of the shrine (C.T.K., xvii., 2-5), to present an offering direct to the god (C.T.K., viii., ix.).

A great ceremony of purification took place preparatory to the priests' fasts, many of which

lasted from seven to forty-two days, and sometimes even a longer period. During this time they abstained entirely from animal food, from herbs and vegetables, and, above all, from the indulgence of the passions. This was the usage in Roman times as reported by Porphyry (*De abstin.*, iv., 7). The fasts of the Coptic church are: three days before Lent; fifty-five days of Lent; twenty-eight days before the Nativity; a fast of the Apostles, and fifteen days before the Assumption. In the great fast of Lent they avoid all animal food, and use only bread, vegetables and oil. They also fast every Wednesday and Friday (except seven weeks after Lent), but fish is then allowed. Thus more than half the days of the year are fast days. It is always needful to ask a Coptic priest if he is fasting, before giving him milk or butter at a meal.

Festivals

The festivals were the popular share in the temple service, which kept the heart of the people. Perhaps the nearest parallel we know is an Italian *festa*, where the crowds rush equally to the merry-go-rounds and to the body of the saint, such as that of S. Zeno, dressed in full canonicals, as he has lain for 1,500 years. The great Tanta festival, still held, is even more mixed in its nature.

The great show on a feast day was for the people to " behold the beauty of their lord." The portable shrine was carried round, with priests bearing symbols, and then placed on a stand in various sites for admiration and adoration. Incense was burnt and offerings made before it. There were several feast days in the year belonging to anniversaries of the god, beside yearly and monthly feasts. The greatest festival was that of Osiris. The priests covered a golden ox with a fine coat of black linen, and exhibited it from the 17th to 20th Athyr (14th–17th Nov.), mourning for the fall of the Nile, the end of the north winds, the shortened days, and the leafless trees, but planting in hope of new growth. Six months later, on 19th Pachons (14th May), they go to the seaside with a shrine in which is a small vessel of gold ; in this they pour some fresh water and then cry aloud " Osiris is found." They then mix some soil with spices and incense, and work it up into the form of a crescent, which they afterwards dress and adorn (P.I.O.S., 39). The growth of trees and rising crops was celebrated by the setting up of the Zed pillar on 19th January ; this was of Osiride form with the four capitals of the pillar above the head. The king and court helped in raising it from the ground, and fixing it upright. The queen, priestesses, and singers perform, and priests place tables of offerings

before the pillar. This represented the rising of Osiris as god of vegetation.

The feasts of Hat-her were marked by much drinking and intoxication; one festival at Dendereh, in the month of Thoth, was the Intoxication Festival. This was, doubtless, connected with the myth of the destruction of mankind. Men revolted against Ra because he was old, and the eye of Ra descended in the form of Hat-her. So Hat-her went and slew people; and Ra ordered their blood to be mixed with beer. Then Sekhmet became drunk with it, and ceased to kill mankind. Then Ra said, "There shall be prepared for thee [Hat-her] vases of drink which shall make thee wish to sleep at every festival of the New Year [Thoth]"; and from that day to this men have made, on the festival of Hat-her, vases of beer to make them sleep.

"At the festival of Isis, in the city of Busiris ... all the men and women to the number of many myriads, beat themselves after the sacrifice; but to whom [Osiris], it were impious for me to divulge. All the Karians that are settled in Egypt do still more than this, in that they cut their foreheads with knives," as Herodotos says.

The end of Isis worship in Rome was in A.D. 394, when the consul, Nicomachus Flavianus, celebrated the last official festival; in A.D. 577

the Isis temple at Philae was converted into a church.

The most complete picture of a festival is obtained by the lists of offerings in the Harris papyrus recording the gifts of Ramessu III during his reign. We need not suppose that the amounts were infallibly accurate every year; it is the record of the quantities which were reckoned as being offered; somewhat like the account book of a modern Egyptian groom, who was ordered to give seven or eight bundles of fodder daily to his charges, and filled up the stable book with a perfectly symmetric pattern of V and Λ, 7 and 8, alternately, regardless of the number of horses. There were two great festivals, March 6th to 26th, and August 1st to 27th. From the number of days and number of years, it is possible to analyse the totals recorded. In the March feast the temple court was dressed with 100 bundles of tamarisk bushes, 100 bundles of reed grass, 1,000 bunches of green corn (three weeks before harvest), 50 great bouquets, 360 measures of *isi* plant daily, and lesser amounts of lotus and of flax. The priesthood were apparently sixty in number, and had full allowance of bread, meat, boiled dumplings, loaves of various kinds, oil, and beer. The nobility attending were probably 100, with the same kind of provisions. Of the populace, there

were 10,000 on the great day, and 4,000 daily afterwards, as shown by the number of bouquets. Large quantities of food were provided, loaves of various kinds, strong wine on the great day and beer afterwards, oil, fruit of different kinds, a full allowance of meat, fowls, geese, and water-birds, as well as plenty of fish, large amounts of salt and natron, and also vegetables. There were lotus and papyrus, probably to lay over the food on the tables, one flower to five or ten people.

In the August feast, there were about half as many people, but more flowers for the Court. The general amount of provisions was in proportion. (See the *Folk Beliefs* for less official ceremonies.)

The Sacrifices

The offerings consisted of choice parts of the oxen, various birds—particularly geese—vegetables, figs, grapes, melons, and bread covered over with lotus flowers. Incense was also offered with the sacrifices. The daily sacrifice by the king is described by Diodoros: "When he rose in the morning, the first thing he was to do was to peruse all the public letters and advices . . . then washing himself . . . he went to sacrifice to the gods. When the victims were brought to the altar, it was the custom for the high priest, in the presence of the king and people

. . . to pray with a loud voice for the health and prosperity of the king . . . When he had uttered these and like commendations, he at last pronounced a curse upon all such offences and miscarriages as had been ignorantly committed . . . afterwards, when the king had viewed the entrails [for auspices], and finished his sacrifices, the priest read out of the sacred records the edicts, laws, and most useful and remarkable actions of such as were most famous in their generations."

The special offerings described are: to Ra, three times daily, incense of different kinds named before. To Anubis, as heavenly, a white cock; as guide of the dead, a saffron-coloured cock. To Harpocrates, the first-fruits of growing lentils. An ox, goose, and wine, a burnt-offering, and a drink-offering to Isis of Koptos and Harpocrates (Setna). To Tehuti, bulls, oxen, and fowls (Paonkhy); and on the 19th of Thoth, honey and figs were eaten, saying "How sweet is truth."

There is much evidence for human sacrifice in Egypt. In the Ist dynasty it was the custom to kill off the court and high officials, over five hundred at first, on the king's death; the custom dwindled to about a tenth by the end of the dynasty. There is perhaps a scene of sacrifice in the Ist dynasty (P.R.T. II., iii., 6). There are various references to human sacrifice in the Book

of the Dead. Plutarch, quoting from Manetho, states that at El Kab they used to burn men alive, giving them the name of Set, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve and scattering them, and this was done in the dog-days; that implies the period of the feast of Sothis which was the star of Isis, and hence the time of vengeance for the death of Osiris. Athenaeus says that Panyasis, in the fifth century B.C., speaks of the human sacrifices practised by the Egyptians.

Special offerings were made at the Cataract. Seneca describes two projecting crags where, when the sacred festival comes round, the priests throw into these fountains a public offering, while the magistrates offer gifts of gold. The offerings of Ramessu III to the Nile, recorded in the Harris papyrus, appear to show that there were 106 stages on the Nile, and a shrine to Hapi at each stage, about six and a half miles apart. At these shrines, offerings—probably the statuettes which were periodically renewed—appear to have been thrown yearly into the Nile. A Book of Hapi was also provided yearly for each shrine of a nome. The river shrines had each twelve kilts of linen for the keepers, 300 measures of fruit, sixty bushels of raisins and carobs, onions, salt, natron, and dried dates. A bouquet decorated the shrine freshly each day. There were six wooden figures of Hapi, and six of the female Hapi, eight

figures of Hapi in nineteen different metals and stones, and sixteen figures in various precious stones; also a dozen each of crystal seals, bracelets, and armlets. The shrine, therefore, must have been gaily set out in devotion to Hapi, even if we allow that the scribes may have recorded the orders, rather than the precise execution of them (P.H.S., 4, 5).

The system of private offerings is shown by Heliodoros: "Soon after sunrise, taking one of the eunuchs of the palace with her, and ordering a maid to follow her with cakes and other requisites for sacrifice, she hastened to the temple of Isis. Upon arriving at the entrance, she said she came to offer a sacrifice for her mistress, Arsace, who had been disturbed by portentous dreams, and wished to propitiate the goddess. One of the vergers opposed, and sent her away, telling her 'that the temple was overwhelmed with sorrow, that Calasiris . . . was found to have expired . . . and now we have sent into the city, to assemble together the rest of the priestly caste, that we may celebrate his funeral rites according to the custom of our country. You must, therefore, retire; for it is not lawful for any one, except the priests, to enter the temple, much less to sacrifice, for at least seven days.'"

The mysteries are mentioned by Plutarch thus: "Circumstances in the Egyptian ritual hint to

us the reality upon which this history [of Osiris] is grounded, such as their cleaving the trunk of a tree, their wrapping it up in linen, which they tear in pieces for that purpose, and the libations of oil which they afterwards pour upon it . . . are intermixed with such of their mysteries as may not be revealed." Clemens writes: "Not only did they scruple to entrust their secrets to every one, and prevent all unholy persons from becoming acquainted with divine matters; but confined them to those who were invested with the office of king, and to such of the priesthood, who from their worth, learning and station, were deemed worthy of so great a privilege."

Changes of Worship

The greatest and most persistent religious rivalry was that of Horus and Set, and this is expressly stated to be the rivalry of two different tribes, who respectively worshipped these gods. Set was dominant in prehistoric parts of the Book of the Dead, and a gloss is put in "Smite me not, O Horus, for is not Set thy brother." Set guarded the stair or ladder for ascent to Heaven, an idea naturally started by tribes who lived in trees with ladders attached, as in eastern Africa now, and in Punt anciently. By the Ist

dynasty, Set was proscribed, after the celebrated war in which the Horus tribe drove the Set tribe down the Nile valley. In the IInd dynasty, the Set party revived, figures of Set are over the king's name, in place of the falcon; and the last king stated that "in him the two gods are in peace." In the beginning of the IVth dynasty, the queen is said to "see Horus and Set" incarnate in the king of south and north; but Horus is the leading god, especially under the Ra worship of the Vth dynasty. In the XIIth dynasty, Set rarely occurs in names, but the Syrian Hyksos worshipped him, and his figure sometimes remains, or is erased, at the head of their inscriptions. The XVIIIth dynasty, though repelling the Hyksos, did not repudiate Set, as Tehutmes I rebuilt his temple at Nubt, and he is represented at Karnak, teaching Tehutmes to shoot. The XIXth dynasty was strongly Syrian; the greatest king was Sety, whose name was politely veiled as Osiri in his tomb; names with Set and Sutekh are found, and Ramessu II compares himself to Sutekh, which was the Syrian form of Set. After the Ramessides, a long eclipse followed, and Plutarch shows that the idea in Roman times was that Set was Typhon. The only connection seems to be with Set as the god of storms, and the Greek *typhos*, a whirlwind; (yet our "typhoon" is said to be from the Chinese

ta fung, " great wind "). There was, however, a cult of Set worshippers among the heretics of the time, who figured this god with the head of an ass. The identity of the animal form in which Set is usually represented has not been settled.

The changes of worship were often due to the political importance of different capitals, promoting the worship of Ptah from Memphis, of Amen from Thebes, or of Neit from Sais. Beside those causes there were changes in each place, from religious development. Thus, at Abydos, Upuaut the jackal appears in the first period, is prominent through the Middle Kingdom, and then vanishes. In the VIth dynasty, Khent-amenti " the leader of the West " is the god of the temple. In the XIth dynasty Sonkh-ka-ra still holds to Upuaut. In the XIIth dynasty the new temple foundations are in honour of Khent-amenti. Next, Asar-khent-amenti appears, and then Osiris lord of Mendes, lord of Memphis, and lastly, Osiris lord of Abydos. Still Asar-khent-amenti continues until in the New Kingdom, at last, Osiris stands alone as the god of Abydos. Thus the devotion to the western desert, the road to the Great Oasis, was always the goal at Abydos, under the various forms of Upuaut opener of the desert roads, Khentamenti the god of the west, and lastly Osiris.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIESTHOOD AND ITS TEACHING

Position of the Priesthood

In this chapter, the organization regarding worship and morality will be considered. The priests were the teachers and exponents of religious and moral duty. Every day at the sacrifice, the king had to listen to a prayer which would be a severe satire on his failings, and afterward a sermon on past history "that the prince might seriously consider and ponder upon what was most commendable in those examples." What was teaching for the king was also teaching for the subject, and the priesthood controlled education as well as being the guardians of morals and character. As Diodoros says, the priests "are highly reverenced and in great authority among the people, both for their piety toward the gods, and their great wisdom and learning wherein they instruct the people. . . . By the help of astrology, and viewing the entrails of the sacrifices, they divine and foretell future events, and out of the records in the sacred registers from

things done in former times, they read present lectures for profitable use and practice."

The priesthoods in the earlier ages were essentially local. The gods were rivals, supreme in their own cities, and the priest was part of the city organization, and not part of a hierarchy. The priesthoods of some gods were mainly held with civil positions; the priests of Hather, Maot, and Heqt held the office of deputy of the king, ruler of the south, chief of the palace, secretary, chief architect, keeper of granaries, keeper of treasury, chief justice, and keeper of the armoury. These priesthoods, in fact, may be looked on as the society offices. The priests of Ptah and Seker kept entirely to religious offices.

By the time of the New Kingdom, there was in all departments a far greater centralisation. The local princes who had kept up their state, even under the strong domination of the IVth and XIIth dynasties, now disappear, and every affair is under control from the capital. The priesthood did not escape this, and they were all united in general hierarchies; however this might add to their status, it was the beginning of the end, for the priesthood usurped, and then wrecked, the government. The temples enormously increased in wealth from the plunder of surrounding lands, and this not only produced

splendid buildings but a powerfully organized body, to whom the priesthood of the early monarchy would have seemed quite insignificant. This new-rich profession of the priesthood naturally aggrandised a great civil establishment for the management of its estates and property, like the retinue of the princely bishops of Durham or Winchester in the Middle Ages.

In the political convulsions of the Ethiopian and Persian occupations, the priesthood formed a nucleus of order, like the Papacy in the barbarian invasions. Grants were made, and renewed by fresh rulers, in order to secure the only organization that existed in the country. The endowments were fully regulated, as is seen at the minor temple of the out-of-the-way town of Hibeh; there the revenue was divided into 100 shares; the prophet of Amen had four, and the prophets of sixteen gods, and four orders of twenty priests each, all had one share alike.

The Roman administration sought to control the priesthood, as a key to the country. A "high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt" was appointed directly by the emperor, with supremacy over all priests and revenues. Further, to maintain control, the temple property was taxed like all else, and the tax returned by a grant, which could be withheld, and which gave

the priesthood an interest in the stability of the government.

The succession to the priesthoods was usually hereditary throughout. Some of the richest, as the high priesthood of Memphis, and that of Heliopolis, were often appropriated to the king's son. Otherwise, it is customary in late genealogies to find many generations all holding the same priesthood. In Roman times, at Memphis, the high priesthood passed, like any other property, to the heir. Heliodoros says, " Calasiris . . . poured out a libation to the goddess, and, in the midst of vows and prayers, took the sacred diadem of the priesthood from his own head, and placed it on that of his son Thyamis, saying to the spectators, That he felt himself old, and saw his end approaching, that his eldest son was his lawful successor in the office, and that he possessed the needful vigour, both of body and mind, for exercising the functions of it. . . . At Memphis . . . Thyamis had been completely invested with the office of high priest, and, as such, was become one of the chiefs of the city."

Purification

Herodotos tells us that in other countries the priests of the gods wear long hair ; in Egypt they have it shaved. He adds that the priests shave

their whole body every third day, and they wear only linen, and shoes of papyrus. They had six pairs of papyrus and one pair of leather shoes in the year, according to the papyrus of Ramessu III. They washed in cold water twice every day and twice every night; whether this was partial, like the Islamic wash before prayer, is not certain. On the other hand, "they enjoy no slight advantages, for they do not consume or spend any of their private property." Evidently Herodotos thought the shaving and washing a hardship.

Heliodoros says of a priest of Isis that he abstained from wine and all animal food. On the other hand, Herodotos mentions a supply of wine for priests. The Ramesside priests had no wine allowance at the feasts, but a jar of beer for every twenty priests. Plutarch says that at Heliopolis the priests never took wine into the temple (*hieron*), that is, within the temenos. Other priests used it, but sparingly. The onion and pigs were prohibited, and fish could not be eaten, even when all others were expected to feed on it.

Origins of the Priesthood

The titles of the priests throw a great light on the origins of priesthood, perhaps more than can be gathered from any other country. The "wise-woman" was evidently a leading figure; and as she is not likely to have taken such a part when

a priesthood existed, this is probably the most primitive type. The references here are to the nome numbers of Upper (U) and Lower (L) Egypt. She is the "Nurse," and the priest the "Child" (L 3), or she is the "Appeaser of the soul" and the priest the "Favourite child" (L 19). She is the "Protector" (L 10), the "Robed" (U 12), the "Dark woman," on the Nubian frontier (U 1), the "Divine mother" (L 2) or the "Watcher" (L 7).

The relation of priestess and priest on the eastern desert of the Wady Tumilat, was just the Bedawy status now. The female title (L 8) was "The Great ones," while the priesthood were "Roaming brethren." At Gynaecopolis, or "Women's town," the priestess (L 6) was the "Commander," while the priest was the "Hidden one"; this shows that the name of the city refers to a primitive state, dating from many thousands of years before the confused classical guesses as to its origin.

The occupations of the priest were more often civil than religious. He was the "Great Fowler" (L 4); the "Great one of Medicine" (L 5), or of flesh or "limbs" (L 5). As reconstituting the dissevered body he was the "Builder of flesh" or limbs (U 21). Elsewhere he was the "elder" of the community (L 7). The greatest high priest was the "chief, commander of workmen" (L 1); elsewhere "Over the multitude" (L 13), or the

"Great organizer" (L 18), or the "Inundation man" (L 15). In defence he was the "Splendid" (L 17) or "Warrior" (L 12), or "General" (L 16), or "Guardian who leads the *mesniu*," the troops of Horus (U 2). In the prehistoric capital, El Kab, the priest was the "Servant of the Crown" (U 3). The directly religious titles were the "Adorer" (U 4, L 12), "Watcher" (L 7), "Robed" (L 10), the "Shaved" (L 15), and the "Sacrificer" (L 1). The priestly powers were "Tongue of the God" (L 9), "Lord of true speech" (L 14), "Great Seer" (L 13), "Opener of the gates of heaven" (U 4), "Hider of sins" (L 16), "Servant of the cow" (of Isis) (L 4), and "Guardian of the pig" (of Set) (U 12). Thus the office of the priest was more often developed from civil than from religious functions.

Grades of Priesthood

The priesthood in early times appears to have been divided in four orders, which each served in turn, a month at a time. Thus each order attended once in each of the three seasons. This rotation of the priests is like the Jewish system (Lu. i., 5, 8). It implied that the priests had homes and affairs apart from the temple service. This scarcely warrants the view that the early priesthood was only part of the duties of the local noble. As we have seen, the important priest-

hoods in the Old Kingdom were not held along with civil offices, but only the society priesthoods of Hather, Maot, and Heqt, which had no regular duties or temples to manage. This early system became modified in the New Kingdom, when the greater priesthoods were generally held with many high offices in politics, much like the importance of cardinals in civil government from Henry VIII to Louis XIV. The religious endowments became a prize in political life, or served for the salary of some position which had no recognised place in the budget.

The lowest grade of priest was "the washed" or purified man, *uab*, who had to examine the animals for sacrifice, and perform the routine of the temple. The *kherheb* was the learned man who could recite all the liturgy and spells in the true voice to give proper effect, and also direct the service in general. As dealing with the magic spells he became the magician. The servants of the god, *hemu netcr*, were rendered as "prophets" in Greek, referring to a telling forth, whether of teaching, or as a seer. The term by no means implies fore-knowledge; on the contrary, there are no claims to foretelling in the priestly functions. The acquisition of control over the priesthood by the civil authorities does not appear till the New Kingdom, and mostly after the XVIIIth dynasty, when the civil chiefs were usually placed

over the prophets (*mer ḥemu neter*). By the Ptolemaic age, the *kherheb* had been superseded by legal officials, in his higher function of declaring the religious law, and had become a mere chaplain of the cemetery.

The priesthood had also the care of the calendar, like the pontifex in Rome. Astronomy was therefore a study with them, and they have left us one part of their work in the horoscopes on temples of the XIXth dynasty and Ptolemaic times.

In the Roman period, a general outline of a city priesthood is preserved in the papyri from Dimeh, north of the Fayum Lake, known as Soknopaiou Nesos. There were five tribes, in which membership was hereditary, and passed to females, regardless of marriage. A college of five elders ruled, one of each tribe. The ordinary priests were common peasants, many of them unlettered, and labourers. They had restrictions and an allowance of food, which was larger when they were attending at the temple. A modern company of derwishes, with some endowment, is a near parallel.

The principal titles of the priesthood are :—

Ur Măau, Great seer, High Priest of Heliopolis.

Ur Kherp Ubau, Great director of workmen, High Priest of Memphis.

Ur Dua, great of five (or praiser ?), high priest of Hermopolis.

Grades.
- Neter Hem Tep, chief divine servant = high priest.
- Neter Hem, second or third lower grades.
- Neter Atef, divine father.
- Neter Hem, divine servant.

Sem, conducting feasts and worship of king; rarely high priest.

Kherp, director of temples.

Her, over the temple.

Kher Heb, reciter of liturgy and spells.

Uab, lowest grade of regular priests.

Special positions :

Her or Ur, Hekau, over, or great one of, magic.

Meti En Sa, establisher of protection (by amulets ?).

Scribe of the altars of all the gods.

Scribe of the divine writings.

Priestesses :

Neter Hemt, divine wife of Amen, high priestess of Thebes.

Urt Kheneru Ne Amen, great one of the harem of Amen.

Ahyt, priestess, of various gods.

Seshesheт, sistrum player.

Shemoyt, musician, of various gods.

Priestesses

In the Old Kingdom, the priestesses were very limited in range. Hather was the most popular goddess, there being sixty-one priestesses to eighteen priests. Neit was entirely served by priestesses, twenty-two recorded. Strangely, there are no priests of Upuaut, but three priestesses. Tehuti had one priest and one priestess recorded. As a great exception, there was one priestess of Khufu and one of Teta, otherwise all kings were served by priests. Such is the total of the Old Kingdom.

In the XIIth dynasty, at Beni Hasan, there are two titles of priestesses, of Hather and Bast.

The XVIIIth dynasty brought an entire change. Women were no longer priestesses but musicians, and these were nearly all attached to the rich and prevailing worship of Amen. There are nineteen of Amen, and, rarely, others of Anher, Upuaut, Tehuti, Bast, Hathor and Isis. In the XIXth dynasty, much the same system continued, with twenty-nine of Amen, four of Ra, and others, rarely, of Khnumu, Horus, and Nut. Under Sety I, the harem of Amen was established, but there are few *urt kheneru* before the XXIst dynasty. Rarely, there occurs a *hesyt*, praiser, of Hather.

In the XXIInd dynasty, the ceremony at the

consecrating of Egypt to Amen was also "the consecrating of the harem of Amen and consecrating all the women who are in his city (Thebes), and who act as priestesses since the days of the fathers. They are as priestesses in the house of their lord, paying tribute by their work every year, when His Majesty wishes to celebrate great ceremonies in honour of his father, Amen-Ra" (N.F.H., 4).

The innovation of the queen becoming the high priestess of Amen took place when the heiress, daughter of Ramessu VI, married the high priest. The priestly family in the next generation thus secured inheritance to the kingdom, and the king was high priest, while the queen was the divine wife and divine adorer of Amen. This system survived in Ethiopia, and when the Ethiopians conquered Egypt the XXVth dynasty kept to this system. The Saite XXVIth dynasty left it working for Thebes, where the high priestess ruled and was nominally queen of the Saite king. Any queen having no children usually adopted a daughter of the Saite as the next high priestess. The Persian conquest put an end to these legal fictions.

In Strabo's time the high priestess at Thebes was "a virgin of the greatest beauty and most illustrious family." She took any man she pleased for a month, and was then mourned as

if dead; subsequently she married. This seems to be a relic of the priestess being the wife of the god, and therefore accepting any one who impersonated the god, as the kings used to impersonate Amen in the XVIIIth dynasty.

Dedications to the Gods

In all ages piety has taken the practical form of religious gifts and endowments, and such have naturally formed habits of aggrandisement on the part of the priesthood. The Act of Mortmain in England is the token of this difficulty. Of the earliest period we have only evidence of dedicated objects—the immense ceremonial flint knives, the slate palettes and ceremonial mace-heads of the temple of Hierakonpolis. Khufu vigorously repressed the priesthood, and the endowments may have helped in providing for the immense labour of pyramid building.

The triumph of priesthood at Heliopolis, founding the Vth dynasty, is marked by long lists of lands given by each king to the temple. In the VIth dynasty, the priesthood were gaining exemptions from taxation in kind and in labour, and publishing their immunities by setting up their title deeds at the entrances to the temples. In the Old Kingdom, the principal temple building was for worship of the king; the temples of

deities—even at Abydos—were small brick structures, the gateways, only, being built of stone. Much larger temples of stone were constructed in the XIIth dynasty; pious efforts seem to have been spent largely in building, and we have no lists remaining, of offerings or endowments. A list found in the temple at Memphis is of funerary gifts for a chief justice Ameny.

In the XVIIIth to XXth dynasties, the foreign wars and plunder of Syria and Ethiopia brought great quantities of treasure into Egypt. A large part of this was given to the gods, and Amen, as the god of that dynasty, obtained most of it. The only complete account for one reign is that of Ramessu III, which was after the foreigners had been very closely plundered for three centuries. Yet he dedicated 170 lbs. of gold vases and 380 lbs. of silver vases; or, with other objects, 16 cwt. of gold and silver in Lower Egypt, and 32 cwt. to Amen at Thebes. In that one reign, the priesthood of Amen received a seventh of the cultivated land of Egypt, a fiftieth of the population as foreign slaves, and half a million of cattle. This was in addition to all that previous kings had bestowed. As all this property was free of taxes, the strain on the rest of the country must have been very heavy. It is no wonder that the high priests seized the office as an hereditary possession, and that they ruled

Upper Egypt. There was practically no independent king after Ramessu III ; the rest of the family were increasingly in the hands of a dominant hereditary priesthood, which was the wealthiest force in the land.

Oracles

Though, no doubt, from early times the priests had interpreted the will of the gods, yet the great growth of oracles was under the priestly dominion of the XXIst dynasty. In what way the divine images indicated their replies has been differently understood. Maspero recognised the replies being by dreams, voices, sounds, actions, and signs. He supposes wooden statues with a movable arm worked by a priest, and with a head which could nod. As the only definition is that the god could indicate strongly or forcibly, we can hardly settle the method. One form of oracle certainly was for the barque of the god to be carried on the shoulders of the priests, and on being taken into various properties or localities and interrogated, for " the god to weigh down very heavily." Such is a form of guidance recognised in Egypt now at a funeral, as showing where a man wishes to be buried. It is a form of divine indication which was recognised in Greece, where the priestess at Sparta held a wooden statuette in her hands, while the boys were flogged, and if the scourgers

were too gentle the statuette became heavy. It is stated that enquiries of the oracle of Ammon in the Oasis were answered by the priests carrying out the sacred barque, with silver dishes dangling at the sides, and this suggests that the clanging of the dishes may have given the answer.

At Abydos and at Heliopolis there were persons appointed to receive enquiries in writing, and to deposit them before the god; the answers were found in exchange, and returned to the enquirer similarly.

At Memphis, the bull Apis was a renowned oracle. One mode of answer was by observing which of two chambers it chose to enter. It licked the garments of Eudoxos and was supposed thus to foretell his death; the same answer was supposed from its refusing food offered by Germanicus. Otherwise, it gave oracular dreams to those who slept in the temple; or answers were gathered from the chance utterances of children around it. In short, there was no regular method to be followed by enquirers, but they took omens from anything that happened in connection with Apis.

The various oracles that were known to Herodotos were those of Hershefi, Horus, Neit, Bastet, Mentu, Amen and, above all, that of Uazet at Buto. Later, a great oracle of Bes was fixed in the temple at Abydos.

Prodigies were also observed; and when any occurred, the events following them were recorded, in the belief that such would follow again on a recurrence of the prodigy. A similar system of omens was fully carried out in Babylonia.

Transport of Statues

Besides the large temple statues, which have already been described, there must have been a portable form of statue, probably of wood, for the processions and sacred barques. In short, there were two classes of statues adapted to the two classes of temples, the closed shrine and the processional open shrine. Not only were the statues carried about in a temple or in a town, they were taken out to other places. In the XIIIth dynasty, when Neferhetep went south to Abydos to re-organize the worship there, he ordered the statue to be brought many miles down to the river to meet him, and go up with the king to Abydos.

Statues were also carried even to other countries. Dushratta, king of Mitanni on the Euphrates, sent the statue of Ishtar of Nineveh to Amenhetep III in his last illness, for his recovery; and the same journey had been made before, a generation earlier. This was similar to a romance about the shrine of Khonsu being

sent to a land called Bekhten, to heal the chief's daughter, staying there three years, and returning to Egypt. In this is a reminiscence of the Hittite marriage of Ramessu II, and it was probably fabricated to give honour to the temple of Khonsu at Thebes. When sending on business to Syria for timber, a statue of Amen, called "Amen of the roads," went with the messenger to give him divine authority and support.

In Roman times, the Blemmyes of Nubia had leave to take out the statue of Isis from Philae into Nubia, in order to consult it.

Foreign Gods

Throughout the early history we have traced how gods had been brought into Egypt by each invading race. After the prehistoric ages this process did not cease; only, as there was already a full population and a large pantheon, the fresh intruders were generally repulsed, and their gods did not acquire an important status. The Somaliland god, Bes, seems to be unknown before the XIIth dynasty, but he became very popular as a patron of children and of domestic felicity; he figures on furniture in the XVIIIth dynasty, and by Roman times he crept in as an adjunct in temple sculptures. Dedun was another African god, who is mainly named in

connection with the Nubian interests of the XIXth dynasty. Sati and Anqet, the goddesses of the Cataract, were not brought northward into Egypt. Sutekh was the Syrian form of Set, and the dynasty of Sety were ready to recognise Sutekh in their Syrian connections. Rarely, Sutekh appears in personal names in Egypt. The Syrian Baal was similarly used by the Sety family. On steles are found, rarely, the figures of Reshpu or Reseph, the armed god of war, of Qedesh, "the holy" nude goddess, and of Anta or Anaitis on horseback, armed, the Aryan Anahita. Another Aryan deity, Oadu the wind-god, also appears in Ramesside times, carved on a scarab in exactly the attitude seen a thousand years later, on the Bactrian coinage. Astharth or Ashtaroth, the Syrian form of the Babylonian Ishtar, was worshipped at Memphis as a patron of seafarers. The colonies of Jews, settled from the seventh century onward, brought in the worship of Yahu (Yahveh) at Elephantine, and doubtless elsewhere; and this culminated in the new Jerusalem, temple and city, established by Oniah, in the Delta. The latest pagan introduction was that of Sarapis, apparently the Greek worship of Hades grafted on to Osiris god of the dead, as Osir-hapi, the bull god of Memphis.

Christianity was naturally brought into Egypt owing to the close connection of the Jewish

communities with Palestine. There seems, then, no reason to question its establishment by St. Mark about the middle of the first century. From the stages of destruction of the temple at Herakleopolis, it seems that there was a decay of official temple worship after the Antonines, linked perhaps with the Bucolic war. Yet the honouring of the popular gods—particularly Isis and Horus—went on in the home, as shown by the multitude of pottery figures, and this continued till long after Constantine, until Isis and Horus were taken over by Christianity, about the time of Theodosius. The Isis and Horus figures are extremely debased before they cease, although distinctly pagan. The decree of Theodosius in A.D. 378, demanding full acceptance of Christianity, gave the death-blow to paganism in its outward forms. The siege and capture of the great temple of Sarapis, at Alexandria, was the most open example of what went on throughout Egypt, though more gradually in the south. As there is not a trace of temple building or inscription known for more than a century before this, it is evident that the old faith was hopelessly dead in its official form. The constant friction between the Byzantine officials, and the virtual leaders of the country, in the Church, was removed; for Justinian, with his ecclesiastical bias, appointed the patriarch, Apollinarios, as

prefect, to represent the government, use the troops for his own purposes, and be responsible for raising the revenue. This reacted in the opposite direction. The Church powers and property were at the disposal of the prefect, but the people could not be annexed. They upheld the Jacobite patriarch and refused the rule of the nominee of the government. The great changes of monasticism will be noticed under *Folk Beliefs*.

Literature

The greatest loss in the break-up of the Egyptian civilisation was that of the literature. We have only recovered a minute part of the whole private literature, in tales, letters, and accounts. Of the official records and laws there are but a few temple inscriptions, and a very scanty outline to show what is gone. Clemens states that there were forty-two rolls of Thoth, "treated by the Egyptians with the most profound respect, and carried in their religious processions. First came the singer, holding two in his hands, one containing hymns in honour of the gods, the other, rules for the conduct of the monarch. Next to him, the horoscopist, whose duty it was to recite the four books of astrology, one of which treated of the fixed stars, another of solar and lunar eclipses, and the remaining two

of the rising of the sun and moon. Ten books contained those things which related to the gods and the religion of Egypt, as sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, holy days, and the like. Last of all came the prophet, with ten other books, called sacerdotal, relating to the laws, the gods, and rules of the priesthood. Thus, then, of the forty-two most useful books of Thoth, thirty-six contained all the philosophy of Egypt, and the last six treated of medicine, anatomy, and the cure of diseases." In this recital there are but thirty-two rolls named, and there is an entire omission of history. Yet Diodoros stated that the priests "read out of the sacred records, the edicts, laws, and most useful and remarkable actions of such as were most famous" in their preaching to the kings. There was a large body of record and history which Clemens does not name, so probably this was the subject of the ten books omitted above.

We can, therefore, only glean what was the teaching of the priesthood, by collecting what remains on the subjects of learning, justice, self-righteousness, self-restraint, family duties, humanity and pessimism.

Learning

There was the greatest respect for learning, both for its own sake and for the material power

that it gave. "Give thy heart to learning, and love her like a mother, for there is nothing so precious as learning." "It befalleth indeed that love is good, but twice good is it when a son receiveth what his father saith . . . He who loveth God hearkeneth, he who hateth God doth not hearken . . . He that loveth to hear doeth according to what is said." "If thou art able in the writings, having penetrated into the writings, put them in thy heart, then all that thou sayest will be perfected." The practical advantages are "behold there is no profession that is not governed, it is only the learned man who rules himself," and "the scribe is the leader of labour for all; he reckons to himself the produce in winter, and there is none that appoints him his tale of produce."

Justice

The Egyptians were, as Diodoros says, "extraordinarily careful concerning their courts of justice." In the XVIIIth dynasty, the court was set with four mats on each of which lay ten rolls of laws. The king exhorted his ministers not to be mild but severe, not to be partial to the rich, nor make the slightest distinction between the wealthy and the poor, "for every man is as every man." Leaning to one side in a cause is abomination to the gods. In the Ptolemaic

period the laws are said to be written in eight books. It was, however, in all periods written and fixed laws that were appealed to in a cause. As Diodoros says, " they foresaw that if the punishment due by law to malefactors could be bought off for money, favour, or affection, then nothing but disorder and confusion would enter into all orders and societies of men." In order to reach the truth, a judge was to be very accessible ; in the Old Kingdom, judges were admonished " to hear the speech of a petitioner, let him not hesitate to empty himself of what he hath purposed to tell thee ; love beareth away falsification, let his heart be washed until that is accomplished for which he hath come." A chief justice was directed by the king to beware of malice and bad temper. The ideal of justice seems, therefore, to have been fully equal to that of any people, ancient or modern.

Self-righteousness

The weakness of the Egyptian in all ages has been his conceit, the very human leaning to exonerate himself, and deny his own faults. This produced the moral code of repudiation of sins ; in the previous volume on the " Social Life," it has been given in detail (p. 66), and the arrangement in groups of five which suggests finger-counting

as a help to memory. This is borne out by the question of the ferryman at the waters of death asking the dead if he can count his fingers, that is to say, if he knows his code of morals. The classes of sins are those of general character, as doing wilful wrong; of honourable dealing to God and man, avoidance of violence, religious obligations, commercial honesty, respect for the rights of the weak, and not hindering affairs. Compared with the Decalogue, it seems much more material: there is no love to the gods, there are no family duties to parents or wife, there is nothing against evil intent, such as coveting. This agrees with the self-righteous point of view; only positive injuries to others are looked on as wrong, and the inner mental attitude is ignored.

The same self-laudation is familiar in the biographical inscriptions. Every sort of assistance and protection to inferiors is habitually asserted in the tomb-biographies. "It is my virtue which justifies the honours bestowed on me, and which is clear to the sight of all; has any one ever been seen who is supplicated as I am, on account of the vastness of the property that has come to me, which testifies that I am just in my old age?" So says the great Amenhetep, son of Hepu. It does not seem that the ethics of the priesthood included any idea of humility. The modern Egyptian never acknow-

ledges that he has done wrong; if he suffers for it, that is fate. He always feels that by asserting his innocence he justifies himself. The sense of wrong-doing, of sin, is foreign to his nature, as it is to all Mediterranean folk; it belongs to the Semite and the Indian. The Egyptian realises and approves righteousness in every age; but he thinks little of its omission, that is merely a negative and not a positive evil. The only phrase in apology for an injury, is "No matter."

Self-restraint

Among the precepts of character, greater stress is laid upon discretion and quietness than on any other qualities. Five out of forty pleas of goodness depend on the quietness of the person. The evil of presumption and pride was met by remarks on the uncertainties of life, not by any objection to such faults. It was counted a virtue to assert "I have not given way to anxious care . . . I am not of inconstant mind." The Egyptian ideal was that a man should be strong, steadfast, and self-respecting; active and straight-forward; quiet and discreet; and should avoid covetousness and presumption. Yet with all this, while striving for the highest character, men were to keep the uses of life before them, and to avoid miserliness and asceticism. Their

aim was to be easy, good-natured, quiet gentlemen, who made life as agreeable as they could, all round.

The Family

The absence of any mention of marital or parental duty, in the early code of morals, points to the gradual growth of the family system. It is hardly to be expected that there should be much notice of a man's duty to his wife, considering how, even down to the XIXth dynasty, his position was rather that of a boarder. It was enjoined on a man not to be rude to a woman in her house, if he knows her thoroughly, and not to demand things roughly. The house was the woman's own, and even when long familiar with her, the property was yet hers, and the husband could only expect a reasonable use of it. In all the ages before that, the woman of any consequence is the "mistress of the house," there is not a single instance of a "master" of a house. Yet the union seems always to have been for life. Thus the morality taught by the priesthood was as regular as present marriage, but exactly inverted as regards property. Besides that, there are many warnings against irregular unions. There were women "made ashamed, being under two laws," half married, half single (a merely temporary union); and such were to receive kindness for a time. There were also women from strange

parts whose city is not known, who had wandered away from their moorings, and who should be carefully avoided. All this sounds very much the condition of the modern world. Considering that the fixed property belonged to the woman, it is rather surprising that the customs were not more lax. This implies a good deal of teaching and restraint, due probably to the priestly educators. At the same time, there is no expression of avoiding sin, but only the guidance of worldly wisdom and exercise of precaution in avoiding laxity.

The love of children is very strong in the East; as an Egyptian woman said, reproaching an English bachelor, "But children are sweet." The father was especially enjoined to do everything he could for a good and dutiful son, he should be regarded as a true incarnation of the family spirit or *ka*, and treated with sympathy. The son was enjoined not to forget his mother, and to remember all she had done for him. The duties to and from daughters are never mentioned, yet the daughter was the heiress. Perhaps it was felt that the daughter identified herself with the house in any case, while the son might be left to fight his own way.

Humanity

The general humanity of the Egyptian was higher than that of most ancient peoples. There

is no scene of any torture or wanton pain to man or beast. If Pharaoh keeps up a prehistoric attitude of slaughtering his enemies, at least it is by a single blow on the head, the quickest and least painful of endings. The mere idea or sight of pain was repulsive to the good-humoured Egyptian; punishment, which was always plain thrashing on safe parts, was not to be done where it would annoy the master. Still more, there was a mental delicacy, even to the ungrateful. "If thou art gracious concerning a matter that has happened, and leanest to favour a man in his right, avoid the subject, and do not recall it after the first day that he hath been silent to thee about it." Past favours were never to be harped upon, as demanding subservience. The usual boastfulness is, in the case of Mentuhetep, tempered with higher feelings. "The children were instructed by me in pleasantness of speech. I was attentive of heart to prevent strife with a poor man; nor was there an overseer rude. I desired to comfort the heart until it should tell its troubles, listening to its speech, curing its woe, nor veiling the face from the hungry. There were reported to me the affairs of the poor, of widows and of orphans likewise."

Diodoros says that the Egyptians are more thankful to those that have deserved well of them than any other nation, judging gratitude

to be the safest guard of their lives, as it is evident that all are most ready to do good to them with whom are laid up the treasures of a grateful mind to make a suitable return. This seems certainly in advance of the national morality of Europe at present.

In the great sea-fight of the XXth dynasty, defending Egypt from invasion, the Egyptians are represented in the sculptures at Medinet Habu as saving the crew of a sinking vessel full of the invaders. There was no thought of leaving them to drown. In the XXVth dynasty, the Ethiopian conqueror, Paonkhy, set an example to the Egyptians. He was furious about the starvation of the horses, and he begged each place to submit rather than be fought, "He would that Memphis be safe and sound and that the children weep not." No man was executed for rebellion, nor removed from his city when he had once been subdued.

Pessimism

More or less connected with this regard for others, there was great depression and pessimism if times were troublous and evil became rampant. The breakdown of the Old Kingdom was foreshadowed by deterioration of work, before it fell under the Syrian conquerors of the VIIth dynasty.

This was certainly a time of trouble and decline for the educational priesthood, and there was thus less of religious intuition to resist the paralyzing influence of national disaster. We know in the present time how such disaster is reflected in personal misfortune to each individually. In place of the rival paradises of the kingdom of Osiris and the boat of Ra, they lamented about their dead :

> Their places are no more,
> As if they had never been.
> None cometh from thence,
> That he may tell how they fare ;
> That he may tell of their fortunes,
> That he may content our heart,
> Until we depart to the place
> Whither they have gone. (B.D.R., 183.)

The decay of society and the loss of the bonds of mutual support and help was also bitterly felt :

> To whom do I speak to-day ?
> The gentle man perishes,
> The bold-faced goes everywhere.
> When a man arouses wrath by his evil conduct,
> He stirs all men to mirth, though his iniquity is wicked.
> I am laden with wretchedness,
> Without a faithful one.
> Evil smites the land,
> It hath no end. (B.D.R., 193.)

In these despairing expressions we see the revulsion at the existing conditions, in view of the former standards of moral conduct. There was, apparently, a party which clung to the conditions

under which Egypt had prospered, and looked back on the morality of the past as a background which showed the decline of the present. This is a strong testimony to the substantial course of right and justice before. Yet there was, in some, an unquenched faith in the future life, and a turning toward it as the only door of hope :

> Death is before me to-day
> Like the recovery of a sick man,
> Like going forth into a garden after sickness.
> Death is before me to-day,
> Like the odour of myrrh,
> Like sitting under the sail on a windy day.
> Death is before me to-day,
> As a man longs to see his house
> When he has spent years in captivity.
>
> (B.D.R., 195.)

There is no doubt, here, about the garden and the house awaiting those who escape the present miseries. It is not merely an end of troubles, but it is a better state that is longed for in the future life.

Even in the great time of the XIIth dynasty, there was a condition which was far below the ideal morality which the Egyptian could contemplate. " Transformations go on, it is not like last year, one year is more burdensome than the next. Righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the council hall. All men alike are under wrongs ; as for respect, an end is made of it. Nobody is free from evil ; all men alike do it.

There is none so wise that he perceives, and none so angry that he speaks. Manifold is the burden upon thee" (B.D.R., 200). Nearly all Europe could join in this lament now.

A higher teaching appears in the New Kingdom, when ages of disappointed hopes at last taught some to look into themselves for evil, instead of only resenting it in others. Then man could say, "Chastise me not according to my many sins," and pray to the gods who sat with Osiris to purge him from his evils. Yet at this time the priesthood were careering forward with prosperity and plunder to the bankruptcy of morals in the priestly kingdom. Later, the Therapeutae and Essenes upheld the ideal of personal righteousness, entirely outside of priestly influences. That nonconformist development will be considered under the Folk religion in the last chapter. We have, here, only dealt with the priestly system, in its greatness and its decay.

CHAPTER III

THE FAITH IN THE GODS

In the first chapter we considered the ecclesiastical side of the religion: the origins of the gods, the modes of their service, and the temples. In the present chapter the beliefs are dealt with, and the more personal side of the State religion. In the final chapter, the folk beliefs and underlying remains of primitive ideas entirely outside of State worship will be examined. There must be some overlapping between these different phases of the religious life; but they stand apart in their interests, and it is best to treat them each as a separate whole.

The Tribal God

The earliest representations that we have—upon the slate palettes—show animal figures symbolizing the tribes in action. It is the animal on a standard that seizes enemies, assaults cities, or goes in triumph. Thus the tribe was identified as worshippers of the falcon, jackal, lion, or scorpion; and, further, each tribe had one specific worship, which differed from that of the next.

This view is justified by such differences continuing in full force during historic times, between neighbouring cities with distinctive worships. The consequence was that as one god was the only god of a city, there was no need to name him. He was addressed simply as "the Great God," and there could be no second meaning. This frame of mind, when not excited by some antagonism about its worship, would the more readily lend itself to a recognition of the various gods as equivalent emanations of a general pantheism, as seen in the later development. In early times, the rivalry of the gods was the mythic form in which the rivalries and wars of the tribes were stated. The falcon being represented as breaking open the city of the owl, on a slate palette, was the natural record of a tribal war. The worship of each god was thus strictly localised; and only when a city attained wide supremacy was the local god established as a State god in other cities. Thus Ptah or Amen appear widely when Memphis or Thebes rose to be the capital. Yet each place adhered stoutly to its local worship, by the side of the State god; any changes in the local worship arose very gradually, during several centuries.

By the XIXth dynasty, we find many of the gods with compound names, indicating how a primitive god has been identified with other gods

of the successive invaders. Amen-Ra, Asar-Khentamenti, Ptah-Seker-Asar, all show the unification of gods of different races ; such compounds are therefore of value in distinguishing the various origins of the gods. The further back the gods can be traced, the more separate they are. Even the best-known family, that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, dissolves ; Isis is a virgin goddess, and Horus is Horus the elder, who is not one with Horus the child. As thus the more remote view is always the simpler in its worships, the few remaining examples of polytheism in the earliest times are probably due to compounding, and we may say that, as a general principle, each tribe was, to begin with, monotheistic.

It is a well-known historic principle that an intrusive race is, in its blood, religion, and art, gradually subdued to the type of the original inhabitants, unless there is an overwhelming difference of status. Hence, as the Egyptians started as monotheist tribes, polytheized by invasion, so, in the long run, the tendency would be to revert to monotheism. The road to that lay in the isolation of the " great gods " of different cities. When political unity was achieved, there was a will to recognize a unity in the gods of the several parts of the kingdom. This led to the pantheistic hymns in which all the gods are identified with Amen, and after that to a wide

pantheism, parallel to the polytheism ; thus they reached the view of a single omnipotent deity behind all the local manifestations, and, further, of a deity who existed in all living things, and was the universal soul. There seems to have been some such idea, already, before Herodotos, as he so often refers to a deity not to be mentioned, while he speaks of Osiris (Bacchus) and other gods quite freely.

The various deities which had been placed in family relationship, as a triad or otherwise, by the union of tribes, were further grouped by political action in larger connection as an ennead, a triple triad of nine gods. There was, further, a greater and a lesser ennead in places of great political importance. All these were theological complications which had little effect on the individual belief in the gods.

The Nature of Gods

The powers of the gods were very limited, compared with our conceptions. They were not immortal ; Osiris was slain, Ra grew decrepit. Orion is greater than they, for he is said to hunt and slay the gods. The deified king of the pyramid period is said to be " as a god living on his fathers, feeding on his mothers " ; he is one who " eats men and lives on gods " ; " their great ones are for his morning meal, the middle ones

are for his evening meal, their little ones are for his night meal" ; the king " devours their hearts and their crowns," and thereby gains their powers, " their magic is in his body."

The gods could suffer, as Ra, who was tormented by a snake-bite. They are not omniscient, for it takes time for them to hear what has happened. Thoth has to tell Ra what he has heard, and ask his permission to punish. The gods only act by sending " a power from heaven " as a messenger. Thus the gods have no divine superiority of nature ; they can only be described as pre-existent, acting, intelligences, whom man can hope to rival or outwit by magic. At the same time, the gods can do no wrong.

Animal Worship

That animal worship is very primitive is obvious. To understand it we must reach the primitive mind. Animals seem to regard other species as equals, if they do not pursue them for food. So man probably started by regarding other animals as his equals. It was only when he attained abilities which clearly placed him in control of other animals, that he gained the present view of his superiority. Thus the animal worship had its origin in a sense of kinship between a tribe and some particular kind of

animal, an idea found in many lands. The life of that species was carefully preserved; but one example selected for worship was, after a given time, killed and sacramentally eaten by its worshippers, so that they should partake of the nature of the tribal species. This was certainly the case with the bull at Memphis, where only the head and fragments of bone were found embalmed in one of the immense granite sarcophagi; also the same custom is recorded for the ram at Thebes. In the early language the animal gods are plural—falcons or rams; and the whole of a species were sacred, those that died being embalmed in great numbers, as dogs, jackals, and ibis. The figures of various sacred animals are found, from the prehistoric ages; and we cannot doubt that this kinship of men and animals is in the earliest stages of religious expression. Regarding the apparent contradiction of keeping one example of the sacred species with the greatest honour and yet killing and eating it, perhaps the true view is that the example of the species selected to be eaten sacramentally was therefore honoured and given every comfort, as in various countries both men and animals destined for sacrifice have been pampered long before their death.

Apart from the priestly view of the sacred animals and their temples, we may turn to con-

sider how the people regarded them, and in what way they held the popular devotion.

The baboon is notable for its serious and thoughtful expression. When one sees two or three elders holding a quiet party together, or a family that takes a very exclusive and superior position, or the grave decisiveness of an ancient, it seems difficult to deny their human faculty, and they cannot spoil the illusion by foolish remarks. Their supposed adoration of the rising sun, when they display themselves for its warmth, also led to their devotion being honoured. As personifying wisdom, they were connected with Tehuti, the god of wisdom; the whole animal was represented, and not a baboon head on a human figure. Scribes particularly honoured the baboon, and it is usually placed on the top of balances. The great cemetery of baboons is at Thebes, and not at Hermopolis; this suggests the independent worship of the baboon before its connection with Tehuti.

The jackal had two entirely different functions. In the desert the jackal tracks are always the best paths to follow, as they avoid the impassable ravines which cut up the surface most unexpectedly, and they keep to the best gradients. Hence they open the way to the traveller, and at the end of the Oasis road over the desert, at Asyut, the "opener of ways," Upuaut, was the

special god. The other function was due to the jackal living about the tombs on the desert; the cemetery was good cover, and there were many food offerings left there; so, as Anup (Anubis) the jackal became the god of the cemetery. It is often carved and placed upon the end of wooden sarcophagi; and, though jackals are now chased away, dogs will sit on modern graves in the ancient attitude. The offerings of food are still sometimes taken out to the cemetery by women at earliest dawn, and their cry cannot be distinguished from that of jackals, the invitation to Anubis to come to the offerings.

The weasel was favoured, before the cat was introduced in the XVIIIth dynasty. Bastet had a lioness' head in the XIIth dynasty, but was later assimilated to the cat. The political rise of Bubastis in the XXIInd dynasty brought the cat into prominence as an emblem of the goddess, and cat figures were very common. The popularity of the great feast of Bubastis probably ensured the general sacredness of the cat, and the mob would murder any one who killed a cat, even accidentally. The lion appears in the early mythology as guarding the gates through which the sun passed night and morning. It was mostly in the Delta, where it was worshipped at Leontopolis. It was also popularly known as the "Lion of the Peak" at Thebes. The lion heads and limbs carved on

the seats and couches show the lion as a guardian. The lion was known in Italy and Greece down to historic times, so it is not surprising that it should have been common in Egypt as well as in North Africa.

The hippopotamus was at first beneficent as the guardian of pregnancy, and it is figured often on the early prehistoric pottery ; this favourable view remained to late times, when amulets are frequent of the animal standing upright, as the goddess Ta-urt, " the Great One." This aspect began in the pastoral age ; but when fields were cultivated, the ravages of the animal in the crops made it to be regarded as evil, and it became an emblem of Set. As such it was worshipped in his cities of Nubt and Antaiopolis.

The bull was the great emblem of power, the strongest animal known in Egypt, and the most potent. It was an emblem of the king in the earliest carvings, and there were four cities of special bull worship, each of a distinct breed : Apis at Memphis, Urmer at Heliopolis, Bakh at Hermonthis, and Ka-nub at Kanobos. Yet though these were among the most venerated animals, there was not the least hesitation at killing bulls for food. The cow was strictly preserved for breeding, and sacred to Isis. Yet the bull does not appear connected with Osiris, as the Osis-hapi, or Serapis, was only

the bull when dead, who had therefore become Osiris.

The ram was similarly a widespread object of worship of the power of fertility. It did not remain independent of later gods like the bull, but was at each place connected with a subsequent divinity. There were two varieties, the more usual with the roundly curved horn, as Zeus Ammonios, the other with the long horizontal twisted horn, sacred to Amen at Thebes, and usual on the headdress of Amen, below the double feathers. The ram is often represented on steles as being worshipped, and, as being connected with Amen, especially by the XXVth dynasty, it was often figured in amulets of a ram's head, and as a ram's head on a scarab. There has been some confusion about the worship of the ram and of the goat at Mendes. There is no possible doubt about the sacred ram of Ba-neb-zedu, belonging to Osiris, as it is often represented, a breed with long, shaggy hair like the Mesopotamian type. Yet classical authors speak of the goat being sacred there; Jerome explains this when he says that the goat was adored at Thmuis. As Thmuis and Mendes were practically one city, this explains the confusion. Some clue can be obtained as to the racial difference of these two sister cities. Mendes was associated with Osiris and hence may belong to the first pre-

historic Osiris worshippers, Libyans, who naturally worshipped the Libyan ram. Thmuis had the stairway to the sky (R.G.B.E., 113), which was kept by Set, and which is derived from the ladders to ascend to tree-houses in East Africa. This difference in source kept the two settlements apart. Of the worship of the goat there is a striking group on a papyrus, where the goat is sitting upright, and the worshipper kneeling in front with upraised arms.

The ibis was apparently sacred quite independently of the worship of Tehuti. Three cemeteries of the ibis, at Gizeh, Saqqareh, and Abydos, are without any connection with Tehuti, and there must have been reasons for the sacredness of the bird, irrespective of the god of wisdom. Recently it has been found needful to preserve a species of ibis strictly, for the purpose of clearing away various pests of the marshy fields. Beside such reasons, the Egyptians may have been attracted by the careful searching action of the bird, and it was this which made it a symbol of the god of knowledge and research. Whether the ibis was connected with Hermopolis of Upper or Lower Egypt, before Tehuti was worshipped there, is not known. The ibis appears on late Gnostic amulets of Iao.

The falcon, commonly called the hawk, was especially associated with royalty. Figures of it

are found in the second prehistoric age, but whether the royal connection began then, or came with the dynastic people, is not known. The soul of the king at death was believed to fly to heaven in the guise of a falcon. As the emblem of the king, it was always represented standing above the royal *ka* name; this was originally a figure of the wooden palace of a chief, with his name on the door, and the falcon-king within it was shown above, like the pattern inside a bowl being drawn resting on the top of it. The chief place of falcon worship was about the old capital of Southern Egypt, at Hierakonpolis and the neighbouring Apollinopolis or Edfu. Other cities, from Philae on the south to Tentyra on the north, worshipped the hawk; below that, it was only sacred at Heliopolis in connection with the sun and Horus. Thus the worship was essentially southern. The bird continued to be honoured until the Gnostic age, when it represented the souls of the just.

The crocodile was always feared, and only worshipped in deprecation. The primitive worship was that of Sebek. The crocodile is often represented on the back of the hippopotamus. The sites of the early worship were at the Fayum, "the lake of the crocodile," Maabdeh, north of Asyut, where the great cave is full of crocodiles, and Hagarseh. The latter place has priests of Sebek, Sebek-nefer as a name, and mummied

crocodiles ; while, two miles north, the temple of Athribis has figures of Repyt, Min, and other deities, but no trace of the crocodile, though attributed to this site (W.M.C., iii, 329). When the worship of Set was brought in and he became a hostile god, the crocodile was taken as one of his emblems, and so appears at Ombos ; it was also sacred at Koptos and Crocodilopolis, probably Gebeleyn, either with Set or independently. The priestly worship of the crocodiles is noted in Chapter II.

The serpent worship was based on the idea of the serpent as the good genius, *agathodaimon*, of the house and the temple. A large black granite figure of the uraeus, protector of the temple of Athribis, is in Cairo. The belief in the household serpent probably arose from its catching rats and small animals, and the harmless snake may well be favoured. In the Ist dynasty it was modelled in pottery as the border to the hearth, where it would naturally be found coiled for warmth. It was the cobra, however, that was kept as a sacred animal in various temples.

The Growth of Polytheism

So far as we can yet see, the different classes of gods in Egypt belong to different races successively entering the country. The earliest stage

was that of devotion of a tribe to some particular animal with which it felt identified. This began in the palaeolithic stage, before the earliest prehistoric burials ; the cannibalism of this time has survived in allusions of the ritual spells in the Book of the Dead. The second stage was the establishment of the continuous civilisation, which is connected with the entry of the Osiris worshippers, who taught men agriculture and abolished cannibalism. These, mixing with the first people, established human figures of gods with the heads of the sacred animals. This first civilisation appears to have been brought into Egypt from Libya.

The third stage was the entry of the worshippers of cosmic gods from Asia, which brought in the second prehistoric civilisation. The Sun worship was the principal feature, in the different forms of Ra : Khepra the rising sun ; Atmu the declining sun ; and Her-em-akhti the sun on the horizons. Much later, the Aten was another form of the sun, also coming in from the east. Other gods probably of this group were Anher the sky god, Sopdu the zodiacal light, Shu space, and Hapi the Nile. Heliopolis was the political centre of this period, in which the Osiris worship was suppressed, and Ra alone was dominant. Later, the popular belief in Osiris revived, and various complicated accommodations of the two systems

made great confusion. Lastly, the dynastic immigration took place, probably from Elam and the Persian Gulf, around Arabia and up the Red Sea, lingering in Somaliland by the way. To this may be ascribed the abstract gods of various principles: Ptah, the creator or *demiourgos;* Min, the male principle, and Hather, the female principle, both brought from Somaliland; Maot, goddess of truth; Safekht, goddess of writing; Nefertum, god of growing vegetation. The last three never had temples. Later migrations, in historic times, brought in Bes, the jovial god of family life, perhaps Bast as his feminine counterpart, and various Syrian deities.

Osiris

Having already noticed the animal gods of the first stage, we now turn to the gods of the earliest civilisation, the Osiris family.

Osiris is always represented in human form, without any animal parts, and the sacred animals which in some places were associated with him never intrude on the divinity of Osiris. The rest of his family were all more or less possessed of animal attributes. The cause of this difference seems to be that the Osiris worshippers kept themselves as an unmixed tribe, while the followers of Isis, Horus, and Set were mingled

with the aboriginal animal worshippers. The tradition of Osiris is that of a human ruler deified, and therefore king of the dead as he had been of the living. His kingdom of the dead was a counterpart of his earthly kingdom, and his subjects in the invisible world were to follow the counterpart of all their earthly activities. See the chapter on *The Future Life*.

In the myth of Osiris, he is especially the introducer of agriculture, the god of vegetation, particularly of nascent and sprouting plants. The Greek authors show that this was his main aspect at that period. In earlier times he was represented as lying on a bier in a field of sprouting plants; in the kings' tombs were frames of stretched linen with an outline of Osiris painted on it, and corn sprinkled on this and watered, to germinate. At the entrance to the pyramid of Lahun were bowls of earth full of sprouted corn, which had grown to over a foot high. These were emblems of a renewed life of the king. Modelled figures of Osiris are found filled with grains of corn, offered to him as the originator of corn.

For the myth of Osiris and Isis there is no connected form before the very late one of Plutarch, which is loaded with fanciful explanations; but the earlier fragments and allusions agree so far that we can regard it as one of the early myths, though there may have been others.

The account begins by connecting Osiris with the five intercalary days at the end of the year which the Egyptians long before had assigned as the birthdays of the Osiris family. The meaning of this is that the Osiris worshippers brought in the year of 365 instead of 360 days. Osiris, born King of Egypt, civilised the people by agriculture, laws, and religion; he afterwards imposed the same civilisation on the surrounding races. Set then, in league with Ethiopians, made a chest, which he persuaded Osiris to enter; closing it, they took it to the Tanitic mouth of the Nile. Isis wandered about seeking the body, and heard that it had been floated over to Byblos in Syria, and a tamarisk grown around it. This tree was taken for a pillar in the palace of the king. Isis obtained it, took out the chest and brought it back to Egypt. There Set found it, tore the body in fourteen pieces, which he scattered over the country, thus planting the relics of Osiris which were preserved in fourteen cities. Isis then travelled again, collecting the fragments. Then Osiris, returning from Hades, appeared to Horus and encouraged him to fight Set. The great conflict of Horus and Set ended in the capture of Set, who was delivered to the custody of Isis. She released Set, which so enraged Horus that he struck off the head or head-dress of Isis and put on her a cow's head. The later conflict of Horus

and Set borders on written history, and is clearly a war of the Horus tribe driving the Set tribe northward out of the Nile Valley. We cannot but see in this myth a tribal history of the followers of the eponymous gods.

There were two forms of Horus. The elder Horus was considered to be son of Osiris and Isis before the attack by Set; the Har-pa-khred, or Harpocrates, was Horus, the posthumous child of Osiris. This may refer to two different periods of alliance of the Horus tribe with the Osiris worshippers. Horus became identified with the falcon at Edfu, and combined as a falcon-headed man. Then Ra was connected with the falcon, as flying across the sky, and so grew up the combination from three different religions of the hawk head, on the human body, crowned with the sun's disc. In late times Osiris became merged in the Apis worship as Asar-hapi, or Sarapis, who, with Isis, was most popular at Alexandria. They are represented as two cobras, and silver serpent bracelets have the two human heads of Sarapis and Isis. Harpocrates also was a most popular figure, seldom in a triad but generally on the arm of Isis, or else alone as an infant or youth.

The Egyptian source of Sarapis was Asar-hapi, a form entirely Memphite in origin. Yet it was removed to Alexandria, and there, fitted with a

Greek statue of Hades by Bryaxis, the transformed god started on a course of world-wide popularity. There is a confused statement of the statue having been brought from Sinope, yet, as there was a hill named Sinopium near the catacomb of Osir-hapi, it seems more likely that the figure originated there. The worship of Sarapis and Isis lasted for some seven centuries in Europe.

The worship of Isis was even wider spread than that of Sarapis. A papyrus names more than fifty well-known cities about the eastern Mediterranean where Isis was worshipped. She is identified with such different deities as Aphrodite and Athena, Hera and Helen ; in short, she absorbs all goddesses as a monotheist mother-goddess. The praises of Isis in this papyrus so closely resemble the terms of adoration in the well-known rhapsody of Lucius, that we must conclude that both were copied from the actual ritual of Isis, which was probably fixed in form, as there was a widespread and organised priesthood. The "Golden Ass" of Apuleius also gives the fullest account that is left of the Isis worship, but it is too long for quotation. It shows how, in this pantheistic age, Isis had all divine functions attributed to her and was identified with all other goddesses, especially the mother-deities. The ecstatic adoration by Lucius agrees with the

mystic tendency of that age. (See *Quietism* in the last chapter.)

The more spiritual aspect of Osiris began to take root as early as Plutarch; as he travelled in Egypt in A.D. 66, and never refers to Christianity, his expressions show what was the soil in which the apostolic ideas could be planted among the Gentile races. Plutarch says: "The fact, moreover, which the present priests cautiously hint at . . . that this God is ruler and king of the dead . . . in that they do not know how it is true, confuses the multitude, who suppose that the truly sacred and holy Osiris lives on earth and under earth, where the bodies of those who seem to have ended are hidden. But He himself is far, far from the earth, unspotted and unstained, and pure of every essence that is susceptible of death and of decay. Nor can the souls of men here, swathed as they are with bodies, and wrapped in passions, commune with God, except so far as they can reach some dim sort of dream, with the perception of a mind trained in philosophy. For, when freed, passing to the Formless and Invisible and Passionless and Pure, this god becomes their guide and king, as though they hung on Him, and gazed insatiate upon his beauty and longed after that which no man can declare or speak about."

This was part of the preparation, which, with the Hermetic writings and the Therapeutic un-

worldliness, gave a free course to the mysticism of John and the rapture of Paul in their presentment of Christianity. Naturally, much of the old paganisms became entwined with the new Teaching of the Way ; Christ became a hero like Horus defeating Set and driving out the demons from the land. Eventually the old faith overspread the new, and the Galilean maid and the Man of Sorrows became almost merged in Isis and Horus, and Christian imagery was transferred into the ancient types.

Ra

The Eastern sun-worship seems to have poured into Egypt with the second prehistoric civilisation. It was centred at Heliopolis, which was the capital in that age. The dynastic race, when they came in, found it there, and they had also found a worship of the flying sun at Edfu, as well as the worship of the falcon in that district. All these were readily assimilated in the Ra worship at Heliopolis. This Ra worship and its myths became the main religion of the early kings ; but we must not conclude that the Pyramid texts represent the religion of the other and older classes of the country.

The hour of dawn before sunrise was called " beholding the beauties of Ra." At rising, the sun was Her-em-akhti, " Horus in the horizons."

As he ascended he was Khepera, the god produced to the world. At noon he was Ra, triumphant; as he declined he was Atum, "the stifled," till, setting on the horizon, he was again Her-em-akhti, and vanished into the starry Duat. In the hymn to the Sun, "Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the never-resting [circumpolar] stars sing hymns of praise to thee, and the stars which rest and the never-failing stars glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon." (For the night journey of the sun, see the next chapter, on the *Future Life*.)

The transformation from the habit of identifying and unifying other gods with Ra, into the eradication of other gods for the more abstract Aten, was a reversal of thought and instinct impossibly sudden. Every other god's name was erased on every accessible monument, even in the names of the king and his fathers. The Aten was not only to be supreme, but the sole object of adoration. The Hebrew ideal of a jealous God was for the first time put into political practice. This new conception was thousands of years before its time; we can see now that it was astonishingly true, perfect as a statement of the worship of natural causes. All life, all energy, were the direct product of the sun's radiant energy. The action was not directly by will of a sun-god, but by means of the rays of the sun,

which are figured as each ending in a hand that gives life and confers power. We may doubt if any of the subjects of Akhenaten rose to this abstract and scientific conception; certainly it entirely vanished in a few years after his death. Behind this there was a higher view of a personality which was thus manifested, and which was further expressed in the terms of his "beams," his "beauty," and his "love." The beams acted on Nature; the beauty of dawn and evening glow, of brilliant flowers and flying birds, made the enjoyment of life to man; the love of the Aten, in its care of living things and of the helpless young, was reflected in the love of man. All the excellences of Nature thus came from the Aten, and were to be reflected back in praise of him. The change in religion and idea required a change in all the outworks of religion. The sacrifices were to the Aten on altars open in the plain, as well as in the temple; the scarab remained as an emblem of the future "becoming" of the soul, but it bore a declaration that the dead would be nourished from the daily offerings on the altars of the Aten.

Late Aspects of Religion

After the close of the natural development of Egypt, which died under the Ramessides, there was a unification of various gods in figures with

compound attributes of each, such as Horus and Sebek ; Mut, Min, lion and vulture ; Ptah, Seker and Min ; Horus and Min with Kheper and Amen, or with Bes. These were the combinations by which the powers of different gods were petitioned in private worship of statuettes, or by painting or engraving them on discs, commonly called "hypocephali," placed under the head of the mummy. Such were usual about the XXXth dynasty, and they show the form of popular belief.

The Principal Gods

Having noticed the great worships of the two prehistoric ages, those of Osiris and of Ra, we may note how the Egyptians regarded the other divinities which were local in their source, though they were carried elsewhere.

Amen was the local god of Karnak. When the Theban family rose to importance in the XIIth dynasty, his name and worship were extended. By the XVIIIth dynasty he was combined with Ra, and in the XIXth dynasty there appears the figure of Amen-Ra-Min. Thus Amen acquired the beneficent character of Ra ; he was universally adored and called "the vizier of the poor, who takes no bribes." The political importance of Amen was immensely increased by the enormous benefactions given, from the plunder of

Syria and Ethiopia, by the kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. This culminated in a royal marriage which conveyed the rights of the kingdom to the high priests of Amen, forming the XXIst dynasty. Though weak politically, this was the culmination of the theocracy of Amen, who is regularly called King of the Gods and Lord of the Thrones.

The unlucky envoy from Thebes, Unamen, who was sent to get cedars from Syria, proclaimed the greatness of Amen to the Syrian chief: "As to Amen-Ra, king of the gods, himself he is lord of life and health, and he himself is lord of thy ancestors, who have passed their lives in making offerings to Amen. And you, in your condition, are a servant of Amen." After the overthrow of the weak priest-kings by the Shishak dynasty, there was a great revival of the importance of Amen under the XXVth or Ethiopian dynasty. The XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties had certainly enforced the worship of Amen in Ethiopia, and it had been kept up there, by the later immigrants from the Oases from which the ruling family arose. Amen, as the god of these conquerors, was especially associated with the ram. The Zeus Ammonios of the Oasis had a ram's horn; the ram's head was added to the scarabs of this dynasty; and in Greek times we know that the image of Amen had the head of a ram; also,

" One day in the year, on the festival of Zeus (Amen), they kill and flay one ram and put it on the image of Zeus " at Thebes.

While in later times, under Greek influence, Osiris regained his original supremacy in Egypt, the Ethiopians continued to be under the domination of the high priests of Amen. The high priestesses were the queens in unbroken descent, who had great power there. The priesthood could order the death of the king until Ergamenes revolted against their pretensions and massacred the priests.

Ptah was the great god of the dynastic invaders, certainly from the Ist dynasty, and was the focus of the capital at Memphis, superseding the Apis and Osiris. He was the divine artificer of creation, and his high priest was the " great one, commander of workmen." In later view he was the god of wisdom, bordering on the realm of Tehuti. The power of Ptah was also supreme in other lands. " It was not the army that caused every nation to bring tribute . . . it was the gods of the land of Egypt, the gods of every country, that caused the great princes of every country to bring tribute themselves to the King Ramessu . . . to convey their gold, their silver, their vases of malachite . . . to bring their herds of horses, of oxen, of goats, of sheep. . . . It was not a prince that went to fetch them, it was not an

army of infantry that went to fetch them, it was not horsemen that went to fetch them. It was Ptah, father of the gods, that placed all lands and all countries under the feet of this good god [Ramessu] for ever and ever."

Min was the Father god, brought in from Punt, or Somaliland, in the course of migration of the dynastic race. His shrine was like one of the conical huts of Punt, the hymn to Min was chanted by negroes of Punt, and his face was black. The dynastic people appear to have come by the Hammamat road into Egypt, and at Koptos were found the oldest statues known, three of Min bearing figures of Red Sea shells and saw fish. As having been brought across the desert into Egypt, Min always retained the desert character, although he was the god of fertility.

Hather was the co-relative Mother deity, apparently also from the south. Ishtar had been changed to Athtar in Arabia, and was probably received thence by the dynastic race, and phonetically spelled in hieroglyphs as Hat-her, the house and Horus, although there is no connection in any legend between this deity and Horus. She was originally a cow-goddess, and is usually figured in Egypt with a cow's head, or at least cow's ears. As being one of the latest additions to the pantheon, she had few independent temples, except the great one at Dendereh

opposite the desert road by which she came. She was identified with almost all the goddesses already in the country, and so passed into many forms. She was popularly identified with the primitive tree-goddess of the cemetery, who is often figured with a cow's head. She was especially assimilated with Isis as the mother goddess. Seven fates, instead of the Greek three, were supposed to preside at the birth of each child, to predict its future; these were all multiple forms of Hather, and so called the seven Hathers.

Maot, the goddess of truth and justice, was greatly worshipped in the early dynasties, when there were many priests of hers, but no temple is known. The figure of Maot was worn by every judge as an emblem of his office; perhaps this priesthood was connected with the law.

Bes was a southern god of later introduction, not before the XVIIIth dynasty, though a figure of a female dancer in the same animal's skin is known of the XIIth. He was the patron of all domestic and family life, conjugal and paternal. The figure originates from negro dancers dressed in the skin of a cheetah (*Cynaelurus guttatus*), which is still known as *bes*. In the XVIIIth dynasty, Bes is carved on chairs and beds and on head-rests; there are figures of him dancing with a tambourine, or standing full face. The last type was a favourite ornament for collars of glazed

ware, or in pendants, down to Roman times. In late times a female Bes was associated with him. He is figured with a harp in Nubia, and sometimes with a sword and shield. Only in Ptolemaic times does he emerge from his domestic position, to be placed on the birth-houses of temples. In the Gnostic period he was strangely combined with the great gods.

Set is in a position apart from the other gods, as having been the deity of a hostile minority, and usually under a ban. He was nominally part of the Osiris family, yet the bitterest foe of Osiris and Horus, and it is difficult for us to realise the Egyptian attitude. The followers of Set were driven out by the Horus tribe shortly before the dynastic age. They regained precedence in the IInd dynasty, and Set appears as the royal soul in place of the falcon; at the close of that dynasty, the two gods were at one. In the IVth dynasty this continued, as the king was referred to as Horus and Set, as ruling the south and north. They both appear on statues in the XIIth dynasty, and the temple of Set was rebuilt in the XVIIIth. In the XIXth, Set was popular, probably due to Asiatic influence, and the leader of that age was the man of Set,—Sety. By the Amen party, Set was proscribed, and continued to be looked on as evil till Roman times. Yet a Set party still continued, and Gnostic gems have

figures of the ass-headed Set, so named ; perhaps the well-known Alexamenos graffito of the crucified man with an ass's head was also Set worship. See p. 196 (on the Pig) in the last chapter. Set was specially a red god ; only red oxen were sacrificed, red-haired men were sacrificed or insulted ; it was the red desert that belonged to Set, and the red crown of Lower Egypt was over his domain. The same idea is seen in Hebrew beliefs, where Esau was red, and ate the red pottage, and a red heifer was sacrificed as a purification for sin. No doubt, aesthetically, the Egyptian felt red to be a disturbing factor of the sense of regularity, tranquillity, and repression of passions which he rightly considered conducive to happiness. Red would also belong to the fair northerners, Pulista and others, who intruded on Egyptian peace.

Human Deification

The ceremonial death of the king, on his becoming Osiris, has been described in the first chapter. In the New Kingdom, the king is sometimes shown as offering to his own statue, but it is doubtful if this ever took place before his Osirification.

The best evidence for the worship of the living king before Osirification is in the Harris papyrus, where Ramessu IV represents Ramessu III as

enjoining people to bow to Ramessu IV, serve him always, adore him, implore him and magnify his goodness, as they do to Ra. As Ramessu IV was under thirty years old at the time, he cannot yet have been Osirified, even as co-regent. There was the lesser claim of divine descent; this was enforced by each generation claiming direct divine paternity, by the father impersonating the god. The idea still continued to Greek times, as seen by the tales of the divine paternity of Alexander from Zeus Ammon, quoted by Plutarch and others and elaborated into a tale. The Persian conquerors were naturally disliked, yet Darios, "while he was alive, gained the title of a god, which none of the other kings ever did; and when he was dead, the people allowed him all those ancient honours due and accustomed to be done to the former kings of Egypt after their deaths."

The Egyptians denied the deification of other than kings, as Herodotos reports "that in 11,340 years no god had put on the form of a man." This number is connected with 341 generations, at three in a century, from the first king to Sety priest of Ptah in the time of Sennacherib, 701 B.C. There were, however, stages, like the Greek heroes, which almost reached deification. Imhetep, the wise physician of Memphis, seems, by the veneration paid to him, to have been canon-

ised, and statuettes of him are often found. Amenhetep, son of Hepu, was a great architect and administrator under Amenhetep III; he had two seated figures placed in the temple of Karnak. In inscriptions on these, people were told to come to him as an intercessor before Amen. There was a shrine to him and Imhetep, where he is said to be a deity, and the son of the Apis bull and Hather. Manetho states that "Amenophis, son of Paapis, was one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of future things."

The faith in the Egyptian gods was quite compatible with an equal belief in the gods of other countries. They accepted the divinity of the gods of other races, and the stronger a race, the more mighty were the gods who protected them. We do not find the distinction of scope of the gods, like the Syrians' "gods of the hills" and "gods of the plains." In the treaty with the Hittites, Ramessu names worshipping Amen Ra, Haremakhti, Atum, Amen, Ptah, and Sutekh "the most glorious son of Nut"; but in the swearing clause at the end, he only names Amen Ra, Sutekh, the gods male and gods female of the hills and of the rivers of Egypt. The Hittite names Sutekh lord of heaven, Sutekh of the Khita, and twenty-two local gods of cities, half of them forms of Sutekh. The various foreign

gods brought into Egypt, and there accepted, have been noted on p. 58.

In late times, there appears a curative belief in dreaming in temples to obtain direct faith-cures, or in dreams which directed sufferers to the right treatment. The Egyptian medical works are singularly free of charms or incantations, and order only rational treatment, though largely of a fanciful nature. Tablets of prayers to the gods rarely, or never, mention any ailments, and those with ears on them are not for cure, but to get the attention of the god.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE LIFE

The Psychology of the Egyptian

THE psychology of the Egyptian dealt separately with several entities in man: the *ka* soul, the *aakhu* spirit, the *ab* heart, the *ba* soul, the *sahu* body, the *khaib* shadow, and the *sekhem* power. When we reflect on the various racial sources whence the mythology arose, it seems certain that these various ideas of the nature of man must also have had different origins. It will aid the understanding of the subject, to trace what we can of these sources. The oldest inscriptions—those on the black steatite cylinders—have two expressions for the person; there is a seated figure receiving offerings, and there is likewise the *aakhu* bird. It is only very rarely that they occur together. They are therefore, practically, alternative expressions for the deceased. The *aakhu* is sometimes placed between the *ka* arms on the cylinders, and it is always so placed on the tombstones of the Ist dynasty. There is a difference of locality, and therefore probably of race,

between these two expressions. The *aakhu-ka* is on the early steles of Abydos, the seated figure is on the early steles of Memphis. We gather that the *aakhu-ka* belonged to one race, and the bodily form or *sahu* was the ideal of another. Then the *sahu* body, or mummy, is associated with the *ba* bird in the groups where the bird longs to return to the body, in the XVIIIth dynasty ; also in the scene where the *ba* flies down the tomb shaft to rejoin the *sahu*. Likewise, where the bodily form receives drink from the tree-goddess, the *ba* bird picks up food also. Thus the *sahu* body and the *ba* soul are evidently beliefs of the same system. The *ab* is the heart as the expression of will ; the *hati* is the heart as the chief physical organ of the body.

The *sahu* body and *ba*-bird soul, linked with the tree goddess, seem to be the earlier belief of the first prehistoric Osirian age, or possibly of a still more remote time. The *ka* arms and *aakhu* bird, by the resemblance of the *ka* to African beliefs, and the usage at Abydos, would belong to the second prehistoric age. The *ab*, will, seems akin to the ideas of the abstract gods of principles belonging to the dynastic race. The *khaib*, shadow, may be a very early idea, but cannot be connected. The *sekhem*, power, may be a late abstraction.

All these different parts, so far as they were

believed in together, were considered to be scattered at death and reunited in the kingdom of Osiris.

The question of the belief in transmigration of souls is not clearly settled. On the one hand, Herodotos says that the Egyptians were the first race to believe in immortality, "and that, when the body perishes, it enters into some other animal, constantly springing into existence; and when it has passed through the different kinds of terrestrial, marine and aerial beings, it again enters into the body of a man that is born, and this revolution is made in three thousand years." The same views are stated by Plato, Theophrastos and Plutarch. On the other hand, there is no purely Egyptian evidence of this. There were various spells to allow the dead to take pleasing forms which they preferred, but no compulsory or degrading change. In judgment scenes, a pig is being driven away, in a few instances; it might have been waiting to receive the soul, if condemned. The monster compounded of crocodile, lion, and hippopotamus which awaits the weighing of the soul is called "the swallower," and might be supposed to destroy the person or to incarnate the soul. There is no doubt about the Indian view of transmigration influencing the Hermetic literature, and it is possible that, if introduced by Persians in 525 B.C., it might have

been taught to Herodotos, seventy-five years later, as an Egyptian belief.

The Nature of the Ka

Throughout all dynastic periods there are innumerable references to the ka of all ranks of persons, and even of gods. It was the portion of the personality which received offerings and which the gods were besought to sustain; the priest was the "servant of the ka." To be frustrated in a desire was grievous to the ka; staring at a man was hateful to his ka. The ka impels to generosity and kindness; a son who resembles his father is said to be begotten by the ka. In the future life, the dying "went to his ka," and the dead are called "those who have gone to their kas"; the ka helped by introducing the dead to Ra; the ka brought food to the dead and ate with him. Thus the ka was the partner of the living, yet the dead went to the ka as to a superior. Now, in Nigeria, there is similarly the belief in a guardian spirit, who is invariably of the same family, and usually the spirit of the father. This seems to throw light on the Egyptian beliefs. The definition which appears to account for all statements is that each person received a part of the family spirit, which guided him and was the inner personality. On dying, he rejoined the

whole family spirit, which received and preserved him.

The kings in the period of the New Kingdom had many kas. Amenhetep I began the type of name calling the king "the bull," doubtless with a play of words from the bull being *ka*. Tehutmes I claimed six kas with different names, Tehutmes III had six, Amenhetep III six also, Sety I had at least fifteen, and of Ramessu II twenty-three are known. It seems as if they had three or six as a group, and multiples of that. The bull ka-name disappears in the XXIInd dynasty. The ka of the king was usually figured as walking behind him, with a tall staff on which is a royal bust called "the ka of the king." In one instance the ka stands before the king, fanning him with a feather fan. The ka figure always has the full ka-name resting on his head.

In the tale of Setna, Ahura and her child lay buried at Koptos, while her husband's tomb is at Memphis. Yet her ka could leave her tomb and go to Memphis to live with the ka of her husband, in his tomb. While in this tale the senses, the memory, speech, discernment and motion are all credited to the ka, yet the touch of force from a living man undoes its powers at once. It has, then, all the full properties of mind, but not the ability to act with force on matter. The whole motive of tomb decoration was to provide a

home for the ka, furnished with models and pictures of the food and furniture, the servants and estates, which are the equivalents to the mind ; as the ka could not exercise force upon matter, the provision of actual material was not needed. Thus we can fairly delimit the ka as being the inner mental consciousness and hereditary powers of thought, as apart from the influence of the senses, and continued without the use of the bodily actions.

Through the funeral models the Egyptians reached the theory of ka-doubles of inanimate objects. Hence great buildings, full of imagery and beautiful expression, could have kas. The ka was the essence, and by providing ka models of the materials used in the building, of the tools, and of the food and utensils for the workmen, the ka of the building could be kept in perpetual existence. Hence arose the system of foundation deposits, which are found from the Vth dynasty to Ptolemaic times.

The idea of immortality was an axiom to the minds of the Egyptians ; their notions might be confused, might be rebuffed by pessimism, might develop in various ways, yet from the first burial, with its regular offerings, the belief was always acting until it was expanded in the conversion to Christianity. Under Islam an Egyptian peasant, who liked and respected an Englishman, promised

to give him a hand for safety over the hair's-breadth bridge into Paradise.

The Future Home

We cannot succeed in disentangling the many different conceptions of the future unless we try to refer them to their different sources, racial and historical. The most primitive kind of belief has survived beneath all the changes of peoples and of faiths. To this day, we may see a woman go out to the cemetery, and sit talking down through a hole in the roof of the tomb-chamber, to her husband buried below. We may see women carrying out the offerings for the dead at earliest dawn to the grave, and yelping like jackals, for Anubis to come and receive them. We may see the great gatherings of a whole district come to the graves of their ancestors, sometimes in daylight, sometimes by starlight and dispersing before sunrise. We may also hear—though not allowed to see such unorthodox ceremonies—of the burying of food and drink in dishes and jars with the dead, even a whole mattress under the body, but never dishes of metal. As we pass one of the great sycomores of the cemetery where the tree-goddess dwelt, the native will start and say he has seen an *afrit*. All of this primitive belief, surviving through Christianity

and Islam, shows the most ingrained ideas of the people.

The earliest elements of the religion of funeral rites are those akin to the modern African, and distinct from the later theologies. These elements are the preservation of the body, and often the removal of the head, to be kept after the funeral and replaced later. The African keeps the dried head in the family circle, to take part in the festivals; so the Egyptian in prehistoric times often kept the head, or in later times kept the whole mummy in the court of the house. Food and drink offerings were buried at the funeral, and were also brought, at festivals, to be offered at the grave, alike formerly and now. The African makes sacrifice under the sacred sycomore fig of the village as the Egyptian offered to the goddess of the sycomore. The trays of offerings developed into the soul-houses placed by the grave, as soul-houses with food and drink are still provided in Africa. All of this belongs to a stage earlier than any influence of the great gods, and seemingly before the rise of the prehistoric civilisation.

The earliest appeal, apparently, to a god is in the prayers to the sky-goddess Nut, embedded in the Book of the Dead. She is besought to protect the soul and let it dwell with the stars around the Pole, which never set, and are thus without

change or failing. Dwelling with the stars was, therefore, the future life. This conception of a sky goddess (Nut) and an earth god (Geb) and their separation by Shu, or the air, is curiously like the New Zealand belief.

The first prehistoric civilisation appears to have brought in the Osiris worship, and belief in the kingdom of Osiris. This is entirely incompatible with the previous stages. In that kingdom they needed no earthly food offerings; the soul was not to be a wanderer in the cemetery, or to join the stars, but was to be a worthy farmer in the Osirian fields. He ploughed and sowed and reaped, and boated on the canals, played at draughts in his arbours, and enjoyed a perpetual day, for there was no night or provision for night in that blessed state of Amenti in the West.

The second prehistoric civilisation appears to have come from Asia, bringing in the Ra worship and introducing the idea of crossing the waters of death in the east, to join the boat of the sun. There the dead would be in the company of all the gods who floated with Ra over the heavenly ocean and shared in his protection during the hours of darkness. To join the boat of Ra, it was needful to sail after it and reach it. Therefore boats were provided in the graves, ready to go up or down the stream to meet Ra. No food or shelter or labour was needed when the blessed

were once etherealised to share in the heavenly course of the sun. This all belongs to the Ra worship, centred at Heliopolis, which was, apparently, the seat of the prehistoric principality.

What view the dynastic people brought in is not evident. There is no future life associated with Ptah or Min or Hat-her, and there is no view of the future but what seems, by its connections, to be older than the dynasties. The Babylonian had only a very vague and gloomy idea of an abode of darkness and dust, without any divine alleviation, and the dynastic people may have had so little realisation of the future that they readily adopted the worships which they found in the country.

The principal change, during historic times, in the provision for a future life, took place after the strong Asiatic influence of the XVIIIth dynasty. At the beginning of the XIXth, this influence even led to the king being called after the proscribed god Set, equivalent to the Syrian Sutekh, and then slave-figures first appear, to work for the deceased person in the future life. Till that time there had been figures of the deceased, as there were in the pyramid age, usually one or two, but never many. When slave figures (commonly called *ushabtis* or *shawabtis*) were substituted, the number rapidly increased to four hundred. These are of very various quality, and it seems likely

that each was the deputy for one of the household, and servants on the estate. One fine figure was perhaps from the heir, half a dozen inferior ones from the family, and one or two hundred of the roughest kind from the farm labourers. Each of the better kind had the chapter of the Book of the Dead on it, stating that, when the master was called on to work in the fields of Osiris, the slave figure was to answer for him, "Behold me."

At a later date we find the maze of ideas of the Hermetic books between 500 and 300 B.C., showing Oriental influences, and the introduction of much of the imagery and phrases which were incorporated in the modes of expression of Christian teaching. This is scarcely to be ranked as part of Egyptian ideas, and hence the detail is not entered on here.

The definite longing for mummification is set out most keenly in CLIVth chapter of the Book of the Dead: "Grant thou that I may enter into the land of everlastingness, according to that which was done for thee [Osiris] along with thy father Tem, whose body never saw corruption, and who is the being who never saw corruption. . . . Let not my body become worms, but deliver me as thou didst thyself. I pray thee let me not fall into rottenness even as thou didst permit every god and every goddess, and every animal, and every reptile to see corruption when

the soul hath gone forth from them after their death." A long description follows of the decay of " every god and every goddess " and all animals.

The Passing of the Soul

The transit of the soul to the blessed west of Osiris began at Abydos, up the long valley which leads to the Oasis road. The soul is represented setting out sturdily, staff in hand, to begin its long march. The Oasis was the frontier of the unknown. Beyond that lay the end of the world, at the mountains where the sun left the visible world to enter the underworld of stars, the Duat. There the fertile isles would be reached, where the corn grew higher than any on earth and uninterrupted blessings awaited the soul, as painted in the illuminations of the Book of the Dead.

All of this refers to the Osiride future, which led westward—an entirely opposite idea to the eastern road leading to the future with Ra. It has been suggested that other races have regarded the future home as being a return to their place of origin. Thus the Libyan Osiris worshippers went to the west, and the Asiatic sun worshippers went to the east. In the Pyramid texts the east is far more sacred than the west, and it was to the east that the dead fared. The royal family, as descendants of Ra, naturally kept to the Ra

theology, while their subjects may have been mainly Osirian. On going to the east the king found a lake, the Lily Lake, which it was needful to cross to reach the realm of Ra. In the land beyond the lake, everything was living; nothing could be dead or inanimate in heaven—the steering oar, the boat, the gates, all could speak. The difficulty was to get across the lake. There was the regular boatman, who had to be cajoled, and there were others also; it was just like the well-known intransigeance of getting across the Nile. The most primitive way was by a pair of reed floats, which youths are said to get ready for the king. This idea must belong to a more remote age than the first civilisation when boats were well known. All kinds of bluff and make-belief were needed to induce the ferryman to stir. The most trying question of his was, "Can you count your fingers?" This seems to mean "Do you know all the commandments?" which were checked over by finger counting (see *Social Life*, p. 66). As a last resource, the king might fly as a bird or be wafted over on the smoke of incense. Even when the Lily Lake was crossed, further troubles were encountered—strange lands, infested deserts, terrible animals—and charms were needed to repel the great serpent, Apap, and to escape from fire and from the place of execution of the gods.

The Judgement

The idea of judgement is based on the need of some standard of character for those who were to be blessed in the kingdom of Osiris. The sense of justice revolted at the notion that a person of bad character should have the same comfort in the future as one who had acted aright. Strangely, this moral sense is only vaguely felt in the Ra worship, where we may presume that the good succeeded better in escaping the troubles of the night than did the bad. There is no mention of discrimination or selection by the tree-goddess, or Nut, or Ra. The judgement is a Western idea of the inevitable consequences of actions rather than the Oriental notion of fate or arbitrary rule.

When the valuation of a man's character was to be made, how could the abstract nature of it be expressed? That was the problem before the Egyptian designer. With a fine regard for true justice, he represents the judge as taking no part in the inquiry; that is to be done by independent agents; their finding is reported to the judge that he may give a legal, and not an arbitrary, verdict. Osiris, the judge, is enthroned; his sisters, Isis and Nebhat, attend behind him; the four sons of Horus, the protective genii, stand on a lotus flower before him. In the field outside his canopy stands a great balance, surmounted by

Justice. The dead man is brought up by Anubis to see the dread trial. His soul is weighed against Truth. The balance is observed by Horus or Anubis, and Tehuti records the result, writing-tablet in hand. The deceased is led forward to Osiris by Horus, who declares that he is found innocent. He is then accepted by "Osiris, the good being, lord of life, the great god, prince of everlastingness in the gate of the underworld, leader of the Westerners, the great god, lord of Abydos, king of eternity." As Chapter CLXXXIII. says, "The god that dwelleth therein worketh right and truth; unto him that doeth these things he giveth old age, and to him that followeth after them rank and honour, and at length he attaineth unto a happy funeral and burial in the cemetery. [The dead man says] I have come to thee, and my hands hold right and truth, and my heart hath no crafty wickedness therein. I offer up before thee that which is thy due, and I know that whereon thou livest. I have not committed any sin in the land, and I have defrauded no man of that which is his." A comfortable Pharisee! There was, however, some sense of sin in later times, and the dead appealed for purgation from evil, addressing the gods with Osiris: "Salutations to you, Lords of Righteousness, the company behind Osiris, causing to cut away sins; behold ye me, I come

to you ; extinguish all sins belonging to me." In another spell the four cynocephali, the apes belonging to Osiris, reassure the dead of his justification.

The idea of the judgement continued to Gnostic times, mixed with Christian teaching. On a large amulet there are three scarabs for the creative trinity, three falcons to their right as the souls of the righteous, and to their left the evil souls, represented by three goats, three serpents, and three crocodiles, the animals over which Horus triumphed.

The conditions of the kingdom of Osiris fulfilled all the ideals of a country gentleman in Egypt. Yet ' mere goodness is apt to pall,' and a change of life would at least make him appreciate his blessings more ; so he was provided with spells whereby he could come back to this world and enter his mummy, or become a crocodile, or a hawk, or a bennu, or a dove, or a lotus flower. In the future he could still adore the greater powers, as in Chapter LXXII. : " Homage to you, O ye lords of kas, ye who are without sin, and who live for the limitless and infinite ages of time which make up eternity."

The Earthly Provision

In the prehistoric graves there is a full supply for the requirements of the dead. The food

offerings were burnt to ashes at a burning place in the mouth of the cemetery valley ; a dozen, or sometimes fifty, large jars of the ashes were deposited in the grave. Jars of beer and of water were also placed, a lesser jar of ointment, cakes of bread and other food. Toilet objects were provided—as a palette for eye paint, a stock of malachite, combs and hairpins. There were weapons—as large knives and forked lances of flint, daggers of flint and copper, stone maces and flaying knives. Figures of slave women are in the earlier graves. On the later jars and wall painting are figures of large ships. Various games are found, and weights, though but rarely.

The surface construction of the graves in the Ist dynasty is better known. A dwarf wall was built around the pit and filled up with sand, the first stage of the mastaba. In the eastern side of this walling are two upright slits in the brickwork, for the virtue of the offerings to pass, or for the spirit of the dead. A little enclosure of a single line of bricks forms a miniature court before the slits, to receive the offerings. They usually, however, exceeded what could be placed in the court, and the jars were stacked against the wall as closely as they could stand. The pottery is always very rough, and differs from that made for household use ; it seems that the use of an object placed with the dead could not be resumed, and hence

the offering was made as cheaply as possible. Other common graves at Tarkhan have merely a low dome of sand and gypsum smoothed over them. At Gizeh a different tomb cover was found, in fragments; it was apparently a rectangular block with hemi-cylindrical top, 2 or 3 feet high, and plastered in raised bands, coloured alternately blue and white.

The large tombs of the Ist dynasty were built of brick, with panelled sides copied from the form of the wooden house. The idea was to repeat, in permanent brick for a tomb, the form of the dwelling-house of the chief, where he had slept with his followers around him. The tomb pits were in the midst of the structure. On the eastern side the doorways of the panelling had a tablet over each with the figure of the chief, and his name on the door lintel. All this was copied in stone by the pyramid builders, and became the type of the mastaba-tomb. Successive coatings of wall, and fender walls before the doorway, led to forming a chamber, or chambers, in advance of the doorway shrine, and so, gradually, the complex mastabas of the Vth and VIth dynasties were evolved.

As the Osirian faith was prevalent among the people, the tombs were on the western bank, if possible, and the offerers looked to the west, the entrances being in the east face. Even where

tombs must be on the east bank, the shrines were on the west wall of the chamber, as at Tehneh and Hamamieh.

The simplest form of offering was found in position at Deshasheh: merely a reed mat laid before the false door of the tomb, with a conical dish on it to hold a pile of flour. The colouring of the *hetep* sign in the earliest hieroglyphs at Meydum shows the rush mat and binding strings and the pot exactly like what is found. Other offerings have been found in position. On the top of a large mastaba of the VIth dynasty at Dendereh, the pottery offering-dishes and jars were still there, lying undisturbed, after 6,000 years.

The access of the soul to the chamber of provision was sometimes arranged by a narrow tube in the rock, from the tomb pit out to the false door. The earliest figures of offerings are painted exactly full size, the lamps on stands to light the passage, the bed frames, games, tools, weights and measures, in the tomb of Hesy. In a neighbouring tomb are passages down to the subterranean house, with its store-rooms and lavatory. The system became regularised in the IVth dynasty; the sculptured scenes of priests offering, slaughter of oxen, farm servants with produce, all made a perpetual supply for the ka. These scenes were of magic value, and not merely for ostentation; the public display was on the

outside of the mastaba, or in the long biographies in the courtyards of the Theban tombs. For the actual dwelling of the ka in visiting the tomb (or for the *ba* in a different belief), one or more lifelike statues were provided. This purpose of supplying the ka has provided us with the marvellous series of portrait statues which bring the personality of the pyramid age more clearly before us than any other part of history. The lists of offerings are mainly of objects, in the earliest tombs, and later the food offerings form the great majority. These offerings are not named at random ; there is an order nearly the same in most tombs and coffins, and that follows the daily service of the man when alive. Water to purify, then incense ; after that, perfumes and ointments. A meal follows of various cakes and beer. After that a mouth-wash of natron. A heavier meal follows, with meat. Then comes the evening meal of light food, fruit, and wine.

The Treatment of the Body

The Pyramid texts, which are the oldest body of spells and prayers, continually refer to the dismemberment of the body and the replacement of the bones after being stripped of the flesh. "Rise, Teta, for thou hast received thy head, thou hast replaced thy bones, thou hast assembled thy members" (VIth dynasty). "Nebhat has

replaced for thee all thy members, Horus presents to thee thy flesh . . . he has united thee without there being any disorder in thee." This refers to the frequent misplacement of bones found in reunited skeletons. "O Pepy Neferkara, behold that one has united thy jaws which have been separated." In the Book of the Dead, Chapter XLIII., "I am a Prince, the son of a Prince . . . whose head is restored to him after it hath been cut off." There are many statements similar to these (P.L., 11–15).

In prehistoric burials these customs are repeatedly found. As the evidence has been frequently questioned, the principal examples are here quoted in brief, selecting those which cannot be due to later disturbance. The skull was kept apart from the body; in five graves it was set up on a pile of stones, once on a brick (P.N.B., 31); or the skull upright, while a gold necklace was round the neck (P.L., 8). A skull was found buried alone; and, again, with pendants of clay laid round it (P.N.B., 31). In other graves the body was inside a recess with the neck against the wall, without any skull; or the place of the skull and hands was occupied with a pan full of small vases or upright jars, proving that the skull had never been in the grave (P.N.B., 31). These examples are explained by the Nigerian custom of cutting off the head of a corpse and keeping it as a family

treasure in the house, where offerings are made to it, especially at family festivals.

The hands were often removed and laid on the body, or the finger bones scattered. Vases were put in place of the hands (P.N.B., 31), or the hands are found laid on the body inside all the bandages, in the VIth dynasty (P.D., 21).

The whole body was sometimes dissevered entirely, and the bones sorted in handfuls, ribs or long bones grouped together (P.D.P., 35, 36; P.N.B., 32). Or bones are often found inverted (P.L., 9) in a grave, or inverted in the recomposed body within undisturbed bandages (P.D., 22), in the VIth dynasty. Bones were also wrapped up, each separately, in cloth in the IIIrd dynasty (P.M.M., 15) and VIth dynasty (P.D., 22). This custom of severing the body is, therefore, prehistoric, found beneath undisturbed skins (M.A.A., 37), and lasted until the VIth dynasty (P.D., 22, 23). There is also a complete disseverment of a woman of Roman age (see P.R.P., 19, P.N.B., P.D.P., P.D., P.M.M.).

Sacramental Eating

In one large grave the long bones had been split, had the ends battered off, and the cellular matter scooped out; this was not done in spite, for ornaments were buried with the skull and valuable stone vases stood around. Yet, though

there were six skulls, there were no bones in connection. That this richest grave had the bodies thus treated reminds us of the Polynesian killing of Captain Cook in order to eat the divinity that had come among them. The higher the person, the more desirable to be assimilated: much as King Halfdan, who was "of all others a King of plenteous years," was cut in pieces to be buried in each province for the fertility of the land (Heimskringla, I., ix.). The echo of this age was still recited by the Pyramid kings. "King Unas is one who eats men and lives on gods. . . . Shesmu cuts them up for King Unas, and cooks for him a portion of them. . . . King Unas is he who eats their charms and devours their glorious ones; their great ones are for his morning portion . . . set for him the fire to the kettles containing them, with the legs of their oldest ones as fuel" (Pyramid Text). In Central Africa a red paste, which all friends of the tribe must eat, is made of the old people, dried and smoked; such dried bodies might well serve as fuel to the kettles.

Covering of the Body

The body in early times had a skin cape thrown over it, or a skin spread over or wrapped round it; a linen cloth was used later, but often entirely omitted, and the body buried bare, as the girl

(now in University College) from Lahun. The wrapping of the body of a queen in a great mass of fine linen at Abydos was certainly done early in the Ist dynasty (P.R.T., II., i.); and the building up of the members into the fullness of the living form was done at the close of the IIIrd dynasty, when the body was thoroughly embalmed at Meydum (P.M., 17, 18; P.M.M., 15). In the VIth dynasty, at Deshasheh, the bodies (not dissevered) were loosely wrapped in masses of clothing (P.D., 16–18). The dissevered bodies were bound up in linen, simulating the natural bulk (see leg in University College). In the Vth–VIth dynasties, at Sedment, there were six long cloths (8 to 11 feet by 2 to 4 feet) wrapped around the body. On coming to the XIIth dynasty, we find a regular system of wrapping, which continued to Roman times (P.R.P., xxi.). First some pads to level the body; then ten to twenty turns of binder around, from feet to head; more pads, and five to eighteen turns of binder. Next is a most notable stage of a Y-forked tie, made of two long hanks of cloth knotted under the feet, knotted over feet, brought together up the front, knot on shins, knot on abdomen, parted over shoulders, and, finally, knotted behind neck. The meaning of this is unknown. Then more pads and six to twenty-two turns of spiral binder; more pads and a main spiral binder of fifteen to

forty-nine turns. Various pads and two lesser binders ; lastly, the shroud over all, tucked in at head and feet, or with corners knotted together. The close similarity of these bandages in the XIIth, XXVIth, and Roman ages shows that there was a fixed ritual for this process, which was rigidly kept up.

The outer cover of all the bandages was whitened with stucco, that the features—which had been painted as early as the IIIrd dynasty (P.M., 18)—should be more visible. By the VIth dynasty it had become usual to make a separate cover to slip on over the head and shoulders (C.R.M., lxiv.), and many covers degrading from this type were found in graves of the VIIIth to Xth dynasties at Sedment. In the XIIth dynasty this was subordinate to the finely decorated coffin, and somewhat diminished (P.G.R., xi., i.) ; a plaster or limestone face was fitted in it, gradually dwindling in size (G.A., xiv.), and continuing to the middle of the XVIIIth dynasty (G.A., xviii, 294 ; M.A.A., xliii., xlvii). The extended use of cartonnage covers, over the whole body, prevented any attention to headpieces separately. In the XXVIth dynasty the separate headpiece was revived, like so much of early date, and this use ran its course down to Roman times, when it was superseded by painted portraits.

The mode of applying the cartonnage, in the New Kingdom, was by modelling layers of cloth and glue over a wooden form, which must have been withdrawn at the separation down the back before the mass was hard and firm. The mummy, already swathed, must have been then inserted and the back opening laced together. There is never close contact between the mummy and the cartonnage, which was certainly not built up on the mummy. After the body was inserted, the surface outside was covered with fine stucco, varying from a hard mass a quarter of an inch thick, to, later, a mere whitewash. This, in the XVIIIth—XIXth dynasties, was often carefully incised with the inscriptions and figures. In the XXth to XXVIIth dynasties it was painted. In the XXIst dynasty, braces of red leather were placed upon the chest of the mummy. The ends of the braces were of stamped white leather, with a *menat* on them, or figures of the king offering to Amen-Ra-Min.

In Ptolemaic times, the continuous cartonnage had given place to a separate headpiece (like the VIth—IXth dynasties), with a breast-plate and foot-case. These headpieces were made on a block in two parts, the face and front on one, and a smooth back piece, which could be withdrawn to liberate the front. The size was sufficient to slip on over the head of the mummy. The cover

was built up of cloth and paste, had a thin coat of stucco, and was then covered with burnished gold foil on the face, and blue paint on the wig. In late Ptolemaic and Roman times, papyrus was substituted for cloth, and often only stuck together wet. These papyrus covers provide the best pieces of literary and business documents, especially on the flat breast-plate. These next were heavily stuccoed and modelled under Greek influence, until they formed the massive gilt head-pieces, about the first century, which led to the use of painted portraits in the second century.

Under Graeco-Roman influence a great change occurred at the cemetery of the Fayum. In Ptolemaic times the bodies had cartonnage head-pieces, chest-covers, and foot-cases, all stuccoed and painted. The body, thus prepared, was placed in a coffin with wreaths of flowers and buried. Though Herodotos and Diodoros refer to the mummies being kept in chambers and visited, there is no trace of this in the Fayum until about the early part of the Roman period. Then they were kept, apparently in the atrium of the house, where dirt, weathering and scribbling all effaced them, for many years ; and they were at last carted out, several together, and buried in any pit in any position. In no instance was there a surface monument over a portrait mummy. The stages are :—

(1) Thin cartonnage covers, buried at once in coffins. Ptolemaic.

(2) Stout cartonnage, polished and painted, with some attention to personal expression.

(3) Gilt face cartonnage, often with imitation gems in the relief jewellery. First century A.D.

(4) Canvas portrait, bound on by the wrappings round the edges.

(5) Thin wood panel painted with melted wax, 100 to 250 A.D.

(6) Burial in ordinary clothing, under Christian influence, 300 A.D.

The bandaging of the body went through many changes. The outer bandages were narrow strips, folded so as to give a smooth edge and laid in V-shaped rows (P.R.P., xi., 1). This was developed as a pattern of square spaces gradually contracting inward, with wider bands below, sometimes as many as thirteen layers of various colours (x., 3), with gold foil at the bottom, and later a gilt button in the centre at the bottom. This led to a peculiar treatment of the head, bandaged into a wedge form of the face. The rhombic bandaging and gilt buttons were usual along with the panel portraits. After this came a red-painted canvas cover to the body, which passed into a polished red stucco cover, both along with portraits (P.R.P., 11–16).

Bare Burial

The method of preparing the body for the courtiers' burials of the Ist dynasty seems to have been simply to bury bare in the open grave, as no trace of cloth was found, even in the box coffins of the royal servants. The brickwork had slipped forward, owing to its not being dry at the burial, showing that these bricks had not been made more than a week before. The burials therefore took place in haste, at the royal funerals (P.T., I., 14). The large squares of graves of royal servants, cleared in 1922, show that in some instances they were conscious when buried. They seem to have been stunned—perhaps by sandbagging—and thrown directly into the grave and buried. We have noticed, above, the unfleshing and wrapping of bones lasting sometimes down to the VIth dynasty.

Other modes of burial are occasionally found. At Sedment, about the IXth dynasty, some bodies had been unfleshed and packed in masses of wood ashes, in the same manner that fish were packed in the fish cemetery. In other instances, in the Old Kingdom, the bones were plastered over with a coat of mud, probably mixed with gums, which stuck tightly to the bones and roughly formed the outline of the body. Otherwise the body was plastered over, with or without

mud, and placed in a whitewashed coffin. The origin and meaning of these variations are unknown. The barbarous Nubian invaders, after the XIIth dynasty, brought back the dissevering of the body, and the burial contracted in shallow circular pits.

Mummifying

The period of dealing with the body is variously recorded, depending on changes of custom and differences of rank. The kings of the earliest dynasties had an interregnum of forty-five, sixty or fifty-two (?) days, apparently for the ceremonies. In Genesis the period is put at forty days' embalming and, in all, seventy days' mourning. Later, in the tale of Setna, the body is placed in the " Good House " till the sixteenth day (apparently salted or spiced), then wrapped till the thirty-fifth day (the long process of bandaging) and laid out till the seventieth day—that is, for mourning. Herodotos states that the body was salted for seventy days, and after that wrapped up, but for the poorer classes it was simply carried away for burial without preparation.

The earliest preserved body that has been noted is that of the queen of King Zer (Ist dynasty), of whom there were remains of dried muscle under the bracelets. This was not fully

verified, as it remained at the Cairo Museum, and thrown away. The earliest fully resined body is that found at Meydum, undoubtedly in a tomb at the close of the IIIrd dynasty. The neck was tied tightly by a band which crushed the windpipe ; the brain was left in the skull. The abdomen had been opened ; the lungs were compressed with sand and linen pressed through the diaphragm. The abdomen was very tightly packed with pledgets of fine linen, but without resin or spices. The body was dried and then wrapped irregularly in fine linen, with coatings of resin and sand repeated four times, until the bulk imitated the living size. Over the whole resined mass, clothing was placed. The internal organs were embalmed and placed in a recess in the tomb wall. The finest linen is about 236 × 170 threads to the inch (*Arch. Jour.*, 1894, 124). This is the oldest preserved body known, and is in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.

In the preparation of the mummy, the opening of the body was essential. This was done by a long slit, usually on the left side, from the hip up to the ribs. The whole of the viscera and lungs were removed for separate embalming, and only the heart was left. The interior of the body was coated with resins and perfumes, and then sewn up again, after which it was placed in the brine bath for some weeks. A simpler method was to

inject a large quantity of cedar oil before placing in the brine ; this allowed of a slow and inoffensive dissolution of the viscera, which were discharged with the oil afterwards ; only skin and bone were left. The cheapest method was merely to remove the viscera and soak in brine. The salt bath, if used concentrated, would remove the water from the tissues as well as prevent decomposition. The muscles were, however, not hardened by the salt, but were partly reduced to pulp. In the XXIst dynasty it became usual to replace this loss by stuffing. In early times, when the head was removed, the brain could be extracted from the base ; later, in the New Kingdom and onward, a break through the roof of the nose enabled the embalmer to remove the brain. It does not seem to have been extracted through the orbits, although they were plugged up to replace the eyeball. The mouth and nose were packed with a soft soap of butter and soda. The viscera, after soaking in salt, were then made up into parcels with bandages. In early times they were laid on a shelf in the tomb ; the jars used are noticed below.

In the New Kingdom, the object in view was to retain the muscles of the body in a sound condition by saturation with oils, even though shrunken, and some of the royal mummies are marvellously lifelike. In the XXIst dynasty, less

tedious and careful methods were used; the muscles were allowed partly to decompose in the brine bath, and the bulk lost was replaced by cutting a slit in the skin and stuffing in sawdust, mud, sand, linen, or anything else. Later still, the attempt to keep the form was abandoned, and the bulk was made up by wrappings to restore the original bulk. Bandaging instead of mummifying became the main art. In the late Greek and Roman times, the body was dipped in melted pitch (of pine or cedar), which ran into the skull and lungs. The external bandaging was the only process regarded. In the Coptic period, plain brine was again in use. There were large pits used for poor burials, where they were stacked together, with only a little wrapping. Masses of bodies were often thrust into great deserted tombs which had been robbed and left empty. In modern times many burials are placed in ancient tomb chambers. Bodies in the Roman age, as well as in earlier times, are found with each limb, and even each finger, separately swathed in bandages. There were also fraudulent mummies made up by the undertakers. A thigh bone for length, a skull for bulk, picked up in the cemetery, sufficed to make an infant dummy, which was duly wrapped, placed in a coffin and buried, to save the trouble of preparing the corpse.

At Hawara, the portraits which were placed upon mummies kept in the house, were painted between 100 and 250 A.D. A body buried in the daily clothing, with embroideries, is dated to about 340 A.D. by a coin. The change of treatment seems to be due to Christian influence. The embroidered garments are the much-worn clothes of the person, patched and darned.

Canopic Jars

At first the viscera, when removed from the body, were preserved with salt and resins, made up into bundles with linen, and placed on a shelf in the tomb chamber. Jars for the viscera began to be used about the VIth dynasty, and there is one with human arms modelled on it, and a name, of about the IXth or Xth dynasty. Alabaster jars were taken from domestic use in the XIIth dynasty, and soon jars were made with lids in the form of a man's head. These represented the four sons of Horus, as guardians. In the XIXth dynasty, the system began of three being represented with animal heads, and this continued till the XXXth dynasty. As early as the XIIth dynasty the embalmers scamped the work, even for a princess, and left the jars with only some resin in them, or full of brine. There are three statements of the different viscera associated with

each of the four sons of Horus : Amset, human-headed, Hapi, ape-headed, Duatmutef, jackal-headed, and Kebhsennuf, hawk-headed. As each statement differs in every detail from the other, it is evident that there was no continuous rule on the matter.

Position of the Body

The attitude of the body was always contracted in prehistoric times, the knees drawn up closer than a right angle to the spine, the hands before the face or throat. Such is a natural attitude of sleep, as seen in the prehistoric girl at University College. The dynastic people brought in full-length burial, though contracted burial continued to the end of the Old Kingdom. This full-length position is that which Egyptians still naturally assume for sleep, in most instances.

In the prehistoric times the direction was almost always with the head to the south, facing west, lying on the left side. This continued into the Ist dynasty, for private persons, at Abydos. The royal connections were usually head north, face east ; the courtiers around the square of graves naturally vary, but are all on the left side. Down to the XIIth dynasty all burials keep this direction, north and east, and so down to the XXth dynasty, at Abydos. At Saft el Henneh in

the XVIIIth, the head is to west. At Dendereh the IXth to XIth tombs lay east and west, and at Diospolis the VIth to early XIIth tombs are east and west. Otherwise the rule of dynastic tombs to the end of the Middle Kingdom is with head north.

CHAPTER V

THE BURIAL AND THE TOMB

The Varieties of the Tomb

THE prehistoric graves show a long growth of work and detail. The earliest are shallow saucer-shaped pits, just large enough to hold a contracted body; in such burials there is only a single cup of pottery, and over the body a goat's skin, fastened on by a copper pin.

During the first prehistoric age the graves were deepened to 3 or 4 feet. The goat's skin continued in use, and the body was covered with a reed mat.

In the second prehistoric age the graves were oblong, a rounded or rectangular pit, about 5 feet deep, seldom roofed over. The size of them was increased to 10 or 12 feet long, and half as wide. During this age, a recess for the body had come into use. As time went on this was enlarged, and a row of long jars, full of ashes of burnt offerings, was placed along the mouth of the recess to wall it off. Sometimes a hurdle of wattle work was placed in front of the recess.

At the close of the prehistoric period, wooden coffins began to be made, and were buried in the recess. At this time also, burials were sometimes made in large jars or pans. The later type of grave also came into use, lined with brick walls ; these often have subdivisions to hold the various kinds of offerings.

During the Ist dynasty there were later developments ; the open pit graves lined with brickwork continued, but with them were graves, developed from the recess type, with a definite small chamber, which was later turned endways to the pit. This was more convenient, as the pit could be lengthened with the recess at the end of it, to push the body in. These pits average 54 inches deep, and are of the middle of the Ist dynasty. Then, it was needless to make the pit equally deep all over ; a slope or ledges leading down to the chamber grew into a system of stairway passages to the chambers. Closing the doorway was first done by bricking. Then a large rough slab of limestone covered the door, and, next, grooves were cut at the sides and a stout portcullis slab was lowered, sliding in the grooves. The stairway tombs average 70 inches deep, and are of the middle of the Ist dynasty.

After that, there is a sudden introduction of burials at nearly twice the depth ; the pit is square and leads to a chamber, or chambers,

below. The body was lowered upright and then turned horizontal. This begins by the middle of the Ist dynasty, and was the type of the regular tombs of later ages.

The earliest royal tombs at Abydos are brick-lined pits, like those of the prehistoric age, but deeper, and enclosed a wooden chamber, attached to upright posts, which carried the roof beams. Offerings were dropped in between the brick wall and the wooden chamber. Such was the tomb of Mena, and of Aha, the second king. Zer enlarged the brick pit and subdivided the space around the wooden chamber by brick cross-walls. The wooden chamber was 34 by 27 feet, and the brick pit 44 by 39 feet. The sumptuous king Den had a granite floor to the brick chamber, and a long and wide stairway down to it. After that, the work declined but the number of offering chambers increased. At the end of the IInd dynasty there were over fifty chambers of offerings, and the burial chamber was of built limestone, partly natural faces, partly dressed.

Around these large royal tombs there were rows of small graves of the royal household. The burials are all contracted, and usually in box coffins. Other rows of graves, forming squares of 250 to 400 feet in the side, were made for burying the royal officials. A trench about 5 feet square was cut in the ground, lined with brickwork, and

subdivided by cross-walls into graves about 5 feet long. It seems evident that the occupants had been stunned and interred when unconscious, while a few must have showed slight consciousness during burial, but the sand would, mercifully, smother them quickly. Such a killing off of the court was the regular custom in Ethiopia, as seen in the burial of the great viceroy Hepzefa at Kerma in the XIIth dynasty. It was usual elsewhere. "In the country of the Arabs . . . they think it ridiculous to be willing to be buried with the King when he dies, but not to pay him the compliment of offering to be subject to the same sufferings as he while he is alive." "Adiatomus, the King of the Sotiani (a Celtic tribe) had six hundred picked men about him who were called . . . 'Bound under a vow.' And the King had them as companions to live with him and to die with him . . . and they die when he dies as a matter of absolute necessity. . . . And no one can ever say that any of them has shown any fear of death, or has in the least sought to evade it" (Ath., VI., 54).

This custom was disappearing during the Ist dynasty, and it ceases in the IInd dynasty.

In the early times there was no aversion to placing graves close to the dwellings and temples. At Abydos several splendid graves of the Ist dynasty were at the edge of the temple area. At

Ehnasya there were graves of the Xth—XIth dynasties covered by later temple building. At Gurob there was a custom—perhaps foreign—of burning all the property of a dead person in a hole in the earth floor, but no bones were found.

In the IIIrd dynasty, contracted burials are found in large jars and in pit tombs ; but extended burials were placed in open rectangular graves and in vaulted chambers.

In the Vth dynasty a long pit, about 12 or 15 feet deep, has a recess along the side for the coffin. The body was fully wrapped in linen, and the skin and ligaments were firm, but there was no trace of embalming, only of plain drying.

In the VIth dynasty, large tombs had an open court cut in the hillside, sometimes with the burial pit in one corner. This court had a doorway to a rock chamber, in which was a pit, or pits, with burials below ; in the upper chamber were wooden coffins for the women of the family. The common graves of the IXth—Xth dynasties were long pits with a side recess for the burial and the funeral models. This type continued later.

A fine tomb of the XIIth dynasty had a sloping passage, over 60 feet long, leading to a chamber of massive blocks with a gable roof ; the floor was the lid of an immense sarcophagus of red granite. The funeral chamber had become identical with the sarcophagus.

In the Hyksos age the graves of those people are small, brick-vaulted chambers, with partly contracted burials and some vases.

The XVIIIth dynasty paid little attention to the burial chambers, which are usually small and rough, just to hold the coffin. In the XIXth, there were some larger tombs, as that of the viziers at Sedment, and others at Abydos (G.A., xxxiii.), with two or three chambers below. In the XXIInd, a continuous staircase from the surface suggests that offerings were taken down to the sepulchre (G.A., xxxiv.). In later times (about XXXth dynasty) a form of domed chamber has been supposed, but the absence of any fallen brickwork in it rather points to its being only a mastaba, and not closed in at the top. Beneath it was the actual sepulchre (P. Ab., 6; lxxix., 10; lxxx., G., 50).

The surface structure above a tomb underwent more changes than the sepulchre. The simplest covering was a dried crust of sand and gypsum capping the grave (P. Tar., II., 2) at the beginning of the Ist dynasty. More important graves had a pile of sand over them, retained by a dwarf wall around it, of a square outline. This forms the well-known mastaba which was so greatly developed later. This wall had two niches or slits left in it, where the virtue of the offerings for the dead was to be received. These slits were fenced in front

by a tiny enclosure with an entrance, varying from 4 feet square down to only 1×3 feet. Within this are a few offering vases, and, stacked outside of it, lie dozens of jars in which offerings had been brought. These jars and dishes are of very coarse thick pottery, different from that found in dwellings; it seems that a vessel once used for the dead could not be taken back by the living, and hence it was left behind, and the cheapest sort of pottery sufficed for this single use (P. Tar., xii.–xiv.).

The more elaborate mastaba was a large brick enclosure filled with sand and gravel; the outside wall was built in a panelled pattern, copied from the wooden houses of the great chiefs (P. Tar., I., ix.). Sometimes these brick masses surrounded only a single pit (P. Tar., II., xviii.); at other places they contained a group of chambers, for the burial and the various kinds of offerings (P. Tar., I., xviii.). Around this great mass, about 100×50 feet, was a fender wall, to prevent intrusion on the offering place. This was usually in one of the recesses, with a panel of wood or stone above it, bearing a seated figure of the deceased. The royal tombs had, similarly, an offering place, on the east face; but its structure has been so weathered away that there is nothing left but the two great steles of stone, with the king's name. Beyond all this, around the tomb,

was a girdle row of graves of the royal officials and servants.

The next stage of development can be best seen at Meydum. The recess for the offering place is flanked with a wall face to receive sculptures. Then a coat of brick was added over the whole mastaba, leaving the sculpture face clear, and so forming a narrow cross-chamber with a passage of access. In this cross-chamber the statues of the deceased were placed, as those of Rahetep and Nefert. Then another coat of brick was added, covering the entrance, and a little niche made in it for offerings, and the traditional court before that (P.M., vii.). With more complication, long passages were left running along the face of the mastaba, to reach the offering place. Sometimes an outer peristyle court was placed before the passage, and a great variety of complicated passages and halls were gradually added, as seen in the city of mastabas at Saqqareh. The most important tombs had a series of panels, one over each recess along the eastern front; those of Hesy, in the IIIrd dynasty, were of wood (P.A.C., fig. 55; A.E., 1915, 48); those of Senna, in the VIth, were of stone (P. Dend., vii., vii.A).

In the XIIth dynasty, the rock tomb came into favour; apparently, the nobles quarried fine stone for their palaces, and shaped the quarry to make a great hall for the tomb. The royal

architect, Anupy, at Lahun, had a mastaba on the hill-top in the style of the VIth dynasty, and also a rock chapel in the face of the hill, of the XIIth style. The great rock tombs of Bersheh, Beni Hasan, Asyut, Dronkeh and other places, are familiar instances. In the XVIIIth dynasty, the Thebans cut some splendid chapels, as that of Rekh-ma-ra; but in general the work was scamped by hollowing out chambers in rubble-rock and plastering them smoothly over in winding, irregular surfaces; all faults were smothered in gaudy colouring. There is seldom more than a chamber and ante-chamber, with a burial pit. Tombs which were built on the desert were small chambers with outer cornice and a pyramid top, as shown on the paintings, but all such have long ago vanished. Some little blocks with pyramidal tops are found in Roman times (P.R.P., xvii.).

Some peculiar modes of burial may be noted. At Kahun in the XIIth dynasty, it was usual to bury babies in clothes boxes under the mud floors of rooms. In the XIVth dynasty the Nubian tribes, pressing down into Egypt, brought back the early prehistoric type of burial in shallow saucer or pan-graves. In the XXIInd dynasty, in a cemetery of infants, the bodies were all packed in old jars.

Throughout the later ages, from the XVIIIth

dynasty to the Roman period, all the simple kinds of burial were practised. The plain hole in the sand, the side recess in a pit, the brick-arched vault, the slipper-coffin of pottery, pits with chambers below—all were used. In Roman times a narrow grave was dug, about 6 feet deep, with a wide ledge on each side to support slabs of stone, or with a brick vault to cover it. The Syrian type was brought in by Jewish settlers, having a chamber with rows of loculi, end on, or with the arched recess in the side of the chamber. In the Ptolemaic tombs at Dendereh the sloping entrance is very narrow, and in the rock-cut chamber, 5 or 6 feet square, on three sides there are deep recesses in which the mummies are stacked with the heads outward. Steles, if any, are on the floor, below their respective mummies.

The Coffin

The forms of the coffin varied greatly in different periods. The earliest form is a wooden tray beneath the body; this is dated to S.D. 39. One tray was 33 inches wide, with upright sides, 2 inches high, mitre-jointed at the corners, the bottom about $\frac{5}{8}$-inch thick (P.N.B., 21). In it lay three bodies buried together, confirmation of the early date, as multiple burials were not made in the second prehistoric age. Trays were not

usual, and it is only on approaching the dynastic time that many are found. The varieties of burial and ranges of date during the Ist dynasty are best viewed in the results from Tarkhan (P. Tar., II., 23) :—

	S.D.	Wood Coffin.	Wood Tray.	Basket Coffin.	Pottery Coffin.
	77	37	–	19	1
Mena and earlier Kings .	78	48	3	8	–
Aha and Zer . .	79	10	6	3	–
Zet	80	14	9	6	–
Den and Azab . .	81	21	7	6	3

Here the wooden tray continued in use through the Ist dynasty, but was always more rare than the coffin ; it was occasionally employed down to the XXXth dynasty (P. Ab., I., 37). The use of the basket coffin was diminishing ; it was of rushes in S.D. 77 (Tar., 466), but more usually of twigs (see photographs, P. Tar., I., xxv., xxvi.), and continued till the IIIrd dynasty. The body was sometimes wrapped in matting (S.D. 78 ; P. Tar., I., 9).

The wooden coffins were rarely cut out of a single block. An early one, S.D. 79, is well cut, with flat faces and thin sides (P. Tar., I., xxiv.). The same method was followed in the VIth dynasty (P.D., 18) ; and in the XVIIth or early XVIIIth, an anthropoid coffin was cut in a block, with a single block lid, at Sedment.

The most complex type was the house model, with recessed doorways and barred shutters between, about the early IIIrd dynasty (P. Tar., I., xxviii.) found also at Sedment and at Saqqareh.

The ordinary construction of wooden coffins from flat boards is found in all ages. In the early dynasties there was every type of corner jointing, to secure union without the help of glue. These forms are shown in P.H.K.A., xxii.–xxv. The first designs that are found are at about the IVth dynasty; one eye—or more usually a pair of eyes—was roughly painted on the east side of the coffin near the north end (P.H.K.A., xiv.). This position was in front of the face, as the body lay facing east with head to north, and it seems that these eyes were to enable it to see out. Similarly, in the house-model coffins, the doors are on the eastern side. These ideas were continued, as in the XIIth dynasty the eyes and doors for the dead to see and go out are on the east side (P.G.R., ix., x.A). The house model originated a type of lid which lasted long. A stout square baulk went along each end; in each of these was cut a curved groove to hold the ends of the roof boards (P. Tar., I., xxviii.; P.M., 21). This form was copied in stone, and is usual down to the XIIth dynasty (E.R., iv.). In the IXth—Xth dynasties at Sedment, plain box coffins were the rule, with sometimes a line of inscription along the

side of the lid and round the upper part of the box.

About the XIth dynasty a fashion came in of much stouter coffins, with sides 2 or 3 inches thick, or even more, in the great box coffins from Bersheh (Cairo Museum). A curious way of reducing the great weight was by thinning the sides toward the bottom by a slope inside; thus the coffin was rectangular outside, but inside it widened about 4 inches to the bottom. Consequently all the inscriptions and decoration sloped near the corners (E.R., xxiv.). During the Old Kingdom, models had taken the place of actual offerings of objects; in the Middle Kingdom, paintings of objects had taken the place of the models. These paintings are sometimes beautifully executed (E.R., xxiii.) and supply many details as to the things of daily life.

About the XIth dynasty, there arose a curious transference. From the early dynasties, the body had been made up to indicate the living appearance; this was, in the VIth dynasty, covered by a cartonnage, and for this, later, was substituted a wooden case, the "anthropoid" coffin (P.G.R., xii.), containing the body in its wrappings. This transference made nonsense of the ideas of the Egyptians, as no one could suppose the revived body might animate the case and cause it to assume a living form. It shows how entirely they

had lost the sense that the painting would restore the body. Yet in some ways they regarded the anthropoid case as equivalent to the body, as not only did the mourners embrace it, but the ceremony of opening the mouth was performed to the case. About the XVIIth dynasty, the case was painted with the vulture and protecting wings of Mut, to guard the dead (P.Q., xxii., xxiii.); this type is known to the Arabs as "feathered", *rishi*. The gigantic cases of the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, as of Queens Aoh-hetep II and Nefertari, 11 feet high, have the feather pattern deeply incised and painted blue, with yellow ribs between; this suggests an original idea of a gold case with lazuli feathers inlaid. Later, more complications ensued, and in one of the very few royal tombs that are known complete, Yuaa, there was a vast square case covered with pitch, and three successive anthropoid coffins, one inside another.

The next considerable change was making the outer coffin with corner posts which stood up to the level of the curved top. This was usual about the XXVth to XXXth dynasties, and it became a shell without a bottom, which was set down over the anthropoid coffin.

After these changes came the Greek influence. At Hawara the wooden box coffins, containing elaborately bandaged bodies, were buried in a

small recess at the side of a pit 8 or 10 feet deep. The earlier Ptolemaic form was round-topped, with corner posts standing up from the lid and projecting down from the body to form the feet, about 6 inches long. A little cornice runs round the body part. The centre board of the lid has sometimes a funereal inscription; figures of Isis and Nebhat are sometimes painted on the end boards.

The next stage was to make a flat-topped box without corner posts; half the lid was fixed, and the upper half lifted off. There were no inscriptions, but demotic scrawls on the ends. The joinery is often very close and careful.

The Offerings

The offerings placed with the dead were part of a ritual which was framed early in prehistoric times. At the south end of the tomb, beyond the head, were cylinder jars containing ointment; the early jars were full of strongly-scented vegetable fat, next a layer of mud was put over it, then this was increased until it was nothing but mud with a trace of scent below; lastly the scent vanished. A small pointed jar, only one in a grave, was usually in the corner near the face. The slate palettes were usually before the face, and the bag of malachite sometimes in the hands

before the face. At the foot end was the stock of large jars full of fine vegetable ash. This ash was sometimes in great quantities, up to forty jars, each holding about 20 lb. weight. At Abadiyeh was found, in the mouth of a valley, the great area of burning, where the offerings were consumed, and whence it seems that the ashes were collected for burial. Sometimes there was burnt sand collected with the ashes.

In the IVth dynasty, the service for the dead was provided by figures of servants grinding corn, making pots, and employed in other occupations. These were finely carved in limestone and coloured. Later, wooden figures were made, covered with a well-modelled coat of stucco, giving the effect of the limestone. By the middle of the VIth dynasty these were simply of wood, whitewashed and painted with some precision and animation. From that, they were degraded, down to the Xth dynasty, when they were hardly human in form and were rudely daubed with colours. They included, usually, women carrying baskets and birds ; a granary with porters bringing sacks of grain, and a scribe recording it ; a group preparing food, slaughtering an ox, cooking, and making beer ; a boat for sailing upstream, another for rowing down-stream, and a third as a guard boat, with armed soldiers. In the XIth and early XIIth dynasties, there was a

great revival of fine work in such figures, as in the splendid models of many kinds found at Thebes in 1921. There does not seem to be any continuance of these figures after the early part of the XIIth dynasty, nor in the XVIIIth.

The Ushabtis

The ushabti figures may be taken as somewhat akin to the earlier servant figures, but yet essentially different. In the Old Kingdom, the stone or wooden figures of the deceased person were a regular part of a good burial. They represented him in different characters and at different ages, sometimes as many as seven (P.D., 13). In the IXth dynasty they were much degraded in size and in work, as at Sedment. In the XIIth dynasty they were not common (P.G.R., x., xii.), and some rather well-made figures, wrapped in a cloak or mummified (P.L., xxx.), show the clearly funereal aspect, with the usual formula of funerary offering and a prayer for coming forth happily in the underworld. There were also mummiform figures, uninscribed, but obviously of the same meaning, as statuettes for occupation by the spirit. In the XVIIth dynasty, these dwindled to mere sticks with a semblance of a head, rudely inscribed in hieratic, and sometimes put in model coffins, like a mummy. The XVIIIth dynasty

starts afresh with very fine figures of limestone or of carved wood (P.S.T., ii.), then of black limestone, then painted wood, degrading down to objects only fit for a Pacific Islander. Starting afresh under the influence of the glazed work of the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, some exquisite figures were made in polychrome inlaid glazes; then painted glazes, under Sety I., were substituted, which degraded to the almost shapeless but brilliant blue figures of the XXIst dynasty. Soon, painted pottery and painted clay were substituted. The demand for great numbers began with the transference of the idea from being figures of the deceased, to being figures of servants to work for the deceased in the kingdom of Osiris. Thus each one was the deputy for one of the family or household; the eldest son might present a fine figure, the rest of the family plainer figures, but well inscribed, and the serfs on the estate gave mere rough pottery lumps moulded by the hundred. This great change of idea took place along with the Asiatic influences of the Ramesside family, and the regulation complement became 400 figures. They degraded by the end of the XXIIIrd dynasty to about 1½ inches long, lumps of formless mud. The Ethiopians started the whole system again with large finely-cut stone figures, best known as those of Amenardas, Peda-amen-apt, Harua, and the profusion of

ushabtis of Taharqa and the other Ethiopian kings. These were copied in blue and green glaze, some of the longest and best being those of Heruza, from Hawara, at the beginning of the XXVIth dynasty. Again they rapidly declined, until in three centuries they became shapeless lumps, during the XXXth dynasty. Like scarabs, they could not survive the transfer to Ptolemaic power. This last revival is marked by the figure being bearded and having a back pier, and inscriptions chiefly incised. Such are the four developments of this idea, each suffering inevitable decay, like every other product of art.

Among the funeral fittings, flowers are prominent in later times. The coffins of the XVIIIth dynasty kings have flower wreaths in them. In Greek and Roman times, great quantities of flowers, made into wreaths, are found laid upon the mummy. There is much variety, but red roses and marjoram are the most usual, and these burials have added much to our knowledge of the garden plants of that time. It was to the credit of the Egyptians rather than the Greeks, as Athenaeos expatiates on the astonishing gardens and perfumes of Egypt.

Figures of the jackal are often placed upon the middle board of coffin lids, with the tail hanging over the end, and falcons upon the tops of the corner posts. A mummied falcon is placed over

the centre of the coffin. These are usual about the XXVIth dynasty and onward, and rather later there are wooden mummiform figures, painted all over, of Ptah-Seker-Osiris. These are sometimes hollow, containing papyri with prayers, and parts of the Book of the Dead.

The Ceremonies

The general account of the ceremonies of burial is well stated for the XIIth dynasty in the tale of Sanehat. "Thou shalt be conducted to the blessed state; there shall be assigned to thee a night of sacred oils and wrappings. . . . There shall be held for thee a procession behind thy statues, and a visit to the temple on the day of burial, the mummy case gilded, the head blue, the canopy above thee; the oxen to draw thee, the singers going before thee, the answering chant, and mourners crouching at the door of thy tomb chapel. Prayers for offerings shall be recited for thee, and victims shall be slaughtered at the doorway on thy stele, and thy mastaba shall be built of white stone."

The Greek accounts refer to an assize on the character of the dead, before burial was allowed. If this was favourable, there were praises of the excellence of the person; but if crime or debt was proved against him, the funeral was disallowed until the heir had made satisfaction.

A comparison of the many scenes of the funeral procession in papyri shows that the most usual order, though not complete in any one example, is as follows :—

Tomb in the desert.
Stele, with funeral inscription.
Anubis holding up the mummy case.
Mourners weeping at the case.
Priest " opening the mouth," before the case.
Offerings.
A pair of obelisks.
Eldest son, family priest, in panther's skin.
Instruments for ceremonies, on a table.
Scribe.
Another pair of obelisks.
Table with offerings.
Cutting a leg from a calf.
Furniture carried.

The above seems to have been the burial scene at the tomb. The following part shows the procession from the river up to the cemetery :—

Seven standards borne.
Mourners.
Porter with furniture and bouquet.
Chair carried by men.
Water carrier, to sprinkle the road.
Kine and men dragging bier.
Priest censing.

Mummy on bier.
Men following.
Dragging the Anubis coffer.
Dragging a shrine.
Carrying furniture.
Mourners.
Men-servants.

In the XIXth dynasty, several differences arise from obvious mistakes in drawing, which suggest that all this was a survival of a much earlier age, and may really have been partly extinct in the XVIIIth dynasty.

In the early time, it was expected that the sons should sacrifice the funereal ox, and they are each named, in a scene of the Vth dynasty. They are also named in a scene of trapping birds for the funeral, in the IIIrd dynasty. The funeral dance is also shown; a table of funeral vases is set out, on one side four girls step high with arms raised above their heads, on the other side three girls beat time by clapping, while they are superintended by two men holding long staves. There are also several scenes of the dances performed on the road to the cemetery, in the New Kingdom, described in the next chapter, under *Dancing*.

Endowments

The fullest view of the permanent celebrations at the tomb is given by the contracts of Hepzefa.

The course of action has been reconstructed by Breasted, and may be summarised as follows :—

Hepzefa had placed his statues in the temples of Upuaut and of Anubis in the town of Siut, also a third statue in the tomb. There was one priest for the tomb and ceremonies, while others from the temples joined on days of festival. These and the necropolis officials were all engaged by contract, for value received. On the first of the epagomenal days at the end of the year, the priests of Upuaut, bearing their statue, came up from the town, sacrificed a bull, and each offered a loaf to Hepzefa. On New Year's Eve the overseer of the necropolis and nine of his men went down to the Anubis temple, obtained a bale of torches, and took them up to illuminate the tomb, as the temples were illuminated below. At the New Year, the guards drew from the temple property 550 flat cakes, 55 white loaves, and 11 jars of beer, for the offerings to Hepzefa, doubtless for the benefit of the priests and guards. Then, in the evening, more torches illumined the tomb, and all the beneficiaries praised the bounty of Hepzefa's endowment. Seventeen days later there was another festival of lights, and a large white loaf was laid before the statue, with another consignment of 500 flat cakes, 10 white loaves, and a jar of beer, to Hepzefa's

priest. Next day another loaf was offered before Hepzefa's temple statue, with more illuminations. There were also offerings every month and half month, and a daily service in his honour, in the temple of Anubis. Truly, masses for the soul, and mass priests, are deep down in human nature. Every day, also, a loaf and a jar of beer were to be placed before the statue on the lower stair of the tomb. Yet the tragedy of it was that, after endowing all these offerings, he never occupied that tomb, but was buried in the far Sudan, with the slaughter of 300 Nubians to serve him in the next life (B.D.R., 260–267).

The working staff of the Theban necropolis comprised forty grades. The principal classes were : (1) The men labourers—masons, path and terrace makers ; (2) sculptors, painters, carpenters and wood-carvers ; (3) clerks, secretaries, paymasters and accountants for the endowments ; (4) servants for upkeep of tombs ; (5) officers, police and guardians ; (6) priests and officiants (A.E., 1917, 177).

Herodotos describes the personal mourning : " When any man of consideration dies, all the females of that family besmear their heads and faces with mud, and then, leaving the body in the house, they wander about the city and beat themselves, having their clothes girt up and exposing their breasts, and all their relations accompany

them. On the other hand, the men beat themselves, being girt up, in like manner. When they have done this they carry out the body to be embalmed."

As in China and India, so also in Egypt the first duty of an eldest son was to officiate at the funeral of his father, and to maintain the tomb and the periodical offerings. This obligation extended in theory to the following generations, but it is seldom that a tomb appears to have been long cared for. The heir was named in his family duties as the *an-mut-ef*, "support of his mother".

In some parts of Upper Egypt there was the same belief as now in Central Africa, that the soul wandered about and needed shelter and food, which were provided in a model hut. These huts of pottery were placed at the side of the grave, on the surface. The simpler form copies the Bedawy tent, and there is every stage up to a two-storeyed house, with furniture, and food, and a servant to prepare it. The tent type suggests that these soul-houses were the product of a nomadic people who were settling in Egypt, and the period—IXth to XIth dynasty—points to the Libyan invasion of that age. The custom must have been due to the southern tribes, as these soul-houses are found from Rifeh to Gebeleyn, but scarcely ever at the IXth dynasty

capital, Sedment. There the models were of wood, and placed below in the grave ; they were not for the wandering soul.

The place for offerings to the dead was, naturally, at the door of the eternal house. As the chief had lived in a great house of wooden planks, so that form was copied in brick or in stone for his tomb. At the niche of the doorway the offering was made. It might be only a humble reed mat and an earthen offering bowl piled up with flour, such as was found at Deshasheh, and is the origin of the *hetep* hieroglyph. On the lintel of the doorway was cut, over the round surface of the log, the name of the owner. A panel above the doorway usually portrays the man seated before his table of food, with figures and lists of his clothing and domestic possessions around him. This is on the regular convention of showing above an enclosure that which is within it, as on figures of vases, of houses, and of the ka name. The tablet over the door is the view of the interior of the chief's house. Subsequently, in the chapel in front of the door, there was the picture of all that was outside of the house, the Nile in the foreground, above that the cultivation and, at the top, the desert scenes. Sometimes the statue of the dead is placed in the doorway ; he is coming out to receive his offerings and to see figured all that lay in the world around. It is

all very natural, very intelligible, very reasonable, if you once enter into the postulates from which the Egyptian mind started.

The permanent endowments for the offerings have been mentioned in the account of the celebrations for Hepzefa. These endowments were elaborately guarded by business contracts, which, for permanence, were engraved on the walls of the open tomb chapel, so that any one might verify them. We may see the same thing in some churchyards—as at Bromley, Kent—where the tombstone sets forth the investment in 3 *per cent.* consols of an endowment for repainting and repairing the monument every few years. The Egyptian, for lack of Government loans, provided what our own ancestors usually gave, property in land for an endowment; he assigned lands to the priesthood—like the endowment of a chantry chapel—that they should always keep up the offerings at the tomb. Later, in the XVIIIth dynasty, it was too evident that such direct endowments were futile, as they were so easily sequestered; an endowment was first for the presentation of offerings to the statue of Ptah; then, to escape the clutches of the Ptah priests, the offering was to pass to the statues of the king, and lastly to go to the priest of the noble who made the endowment, and who would have a third benefit before the priest finally received his

due. The divine and royal acceptance must have been brief, or the food would lose all its savour before the priest consumed it. For the legal position of endowments and temples rights, see *Social Life in Egypt*, pp. 90–92.

Spells and Amulets

The collection of spells were, in the earliest time, recited to the dead, and the office of the *kher heb* reciter is one of the most usual in the Old Kingdom. To secure the kings from forgetting such a mass of precautions, these spells were, at the end of the Vth dynasty, engraved on the walls of the tomb chamber. By the XIth dynasty, nobles also had the spells on their walls, but, as the funeral chamber shrank, the spells were engraved or written on the sarcophagus. When the mummiform coffin superseded the sarcophagus, then the spells were placed on papyrus in the form that we have as the Book of the Dead. Lastly, the papyri dwindled, and a shorter form of invocations was again inscribed inside the coffin.

The protective amulets, in late times, became the greater part of the provision for safety in the future. They are dealt with in the last chapter. A special protection for buildings was the hanging up of skulls of oxen. They are familiar in the

ornament around the Roman tombs, and some Libyan tribe placed large numbers on their huts, both the skulls of oxen and of goats, decorated with red spots. These were buried near the owner for his future protection, and are found beside the "pan-graves" of about the XIVth dynasty (see the last chapter).

Future of Animals

The future of animals was considered as well as of men. All the animals that were honoured in life were preserved when dead. In only one instance have offerings been found for dead animals; at Abydos a brick chamber with sloping sides contained the bodies of seventeen cats, with an offering niche in which were many little offering pots of the roughest kind, apparently of the Middle Kingdom. Presumably they had contained milk.

When any of the sacred species were found dead, the people beat themselves and mourned; the body was salted and prepared with cedar oil before burial. The cats are said to have been buried at Bubastis, and are largely found at Speos Artemidos. Dogs and ichneumons were buried locally; hawks and shrew-mice were taken to Buto, ibises to Hermopolis; bears and wolves were buried as they lay. This refers to the

Persian age, and it is doubted whether such general preservation of animals was of early date. The catacombs at Dendereh, however, are of the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty and onward, and contained immense quantities of dogs, besides hawks, ibises, gazelles, cats, ichneumons and snakes. The kine were all buried in the open ground, and not in the catacomb tunnels. The Dendereh catacombs have been the most fully searched and described. The tunnels are, altogether, over a third of a mile in length. The gravel was dug out, a gallery was then built with long chambers opening off it on each side, and the gravel was thrown back over the construction. The gallery was 4 or 7 feet wide; the chambers were from 20 to 47 feet long and 7 or 8 feet wide, covered with a barrel vault. The Serapeum catacomb is cut in the rock, about a fifth of a mile direct length, and 10 feet wide. The chambers open off each side, and twenty-four of them still have the gigantic granite sarcophagi, ranging from the reign of Amenhetep III. down to the Ptolemies. The Mnevis bulls at Heliopolis were buried in stone chambers. The cemetery of the sacred rams at Elephantine was lately found, with the mummies. The crocodile cemetery at Lahun is of burials merely in the sandy plain; that at Hawara, named by Herodotos, has not yet been found. The great cemetery of crocodiles

opposite Manfalut is in a natural cavern. A cemetery of fishes at Ghurob adjoins the burials of oxen and goats. The fish were nearly all *Lates*, up to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, like the gigantic fish figured at Meydum. They were usually wrapped in grass, and packed with grass ashes as a preservative.

Plundering of Pyramids and Tombs

The plundering of tombs shows that, however carefully they were planned, there was no scruple among the tomb-builders at being also tomb-robbers, like the modern undertaker in his cups, who boasts of taking rings, teeth, and anything saleable from a corpse. The evidence of immediate robbery should be taken first, as that leaves the case open in all other instances. In the prehistoric graves, much of the robbery had taken place soon after they were made. The plunderers had known the position of the bodies, and avoided looking in the less profitable ends of the graves; sometimes the body had still been flexible, or at least the ligaments were firm, when attacked. In the IIIrd dynasty, at Meydum, the great mastaba, No. 17, had been tunnelled straight through to the end of the passage without any uncertainty, taking out a stone by burning and breaking (P.M.M., 14). The greatest mastaba, of

the king's son, Nefermaot, and his wife, Atet, had never been entered till, after much excavation, the chambers were found in 1910. That of Nefermaot had been completely plundered and the body broken up before closing it (P.M.M., 18). Atet had been worse treated, as no piece of her bones more than a couple of inches long had been left in the tomb ; even the pottery was smashed to chips. In these it is clear that the robbers did not wait to open the tomb afterwards, but immediately set to work to destroy the bodies before they blocked the entrance. At the tomb of Ra-nefer, the masonry closing the chamber was perfect, but a tunnel had been made, opening up in the floor (P.M., 17).

At Dendereh in the VIth dynasty, the tomb of Adu I had the sarcophagus sunk in the floor, so that the lid was flush with the paving. Yet a tunnel, 40 feet long and 25 feet underground, had been run up to the side of the sarcophagus, and the robbers had broken through and removed every thing (P. Dend., 9). In late tombs, it has passed into an axiom that an unplundered tomb contains nothing worth plundering ; it has been left alone because it was known to be useless to attack it.

The changes of structure in the pyramids may be best stated here, as a series of stages of defence and attack. The original mastaba, or sand-pile

over a subterranean chamber, had acquired a regular stairway in the Ist dynasty. In the IInd dynasty there was a passage all round the chamber (P.R.T., II., lxi.), which suggests that there was fear of tunnelling into it, and a passage around would enable a patrol to watch it; this is like the passage in the thickness of the wall all round Akhenaten's palace, so that, with a light at night, guards could see at once if any one broke in (P.T.A., xxxvi.). Dating from the beginning of the IIIrd dynasty, the great brick mastaba of Sa-nekht (G.M., xviii.) has a steep descending passage with two stone portcullis blocks let down in grooves from the top; the inner portcullis was 17 feet high, 8 to 9 wide, and 2 feet thick, over 20 tons in weight. The weight mattered little, as it was easy to scrape out a hole beneath it. The stone vessels were left, and some of the copper vessels and tools, but the body was broken up. In the next reign, the gigantic rock structure paved with immense blocks of granite, at Zowyet el Aryan, was begun, but never completed. The third reign is that of Neter-Khet, the builder of the step pyramid of Saqqareh. Examination of that structure has not been allowed for eighty years, and there is no accurate account of the relative date and purpose of the passages. A very lofty chamber occupies the centre, containing a granite sepulchre. Besides

this, the king kept up the brick mastaba system, and left a great structure with five portcullises in the course of the passage (G.M., vii.), which led to a dozen chambers below. The portcullis was abandoned in the great mastaba at Gizeh (P.G.R., vii.). The last of the cumulative mastabas, that of Sneferu, was the first pyramid coated over in one slope. Here the door was concealed by being built up on the sloping face and appearing like any other casing stone. Khufu had the same system; down to Roman times the block still hung on its hinge pins. Strabo describes it as "a stone that may be taken out, which being raised up, there is a sloping passage to the foundations." The provision for similar hinge pins is to be seen at the entrance of the south pyramid of Dahshur (P.P.T., 145, xi.). Khufu also provided the burial chamber branching from the entrance passage, plugged, and with the workmen's exit plugged below. These pluggings were effective, and it was not till Al Mamun smashed up the masonry by a forced hole, that the plug dropped down and drew attention to the spot. His forcing a hole shows that the hingeing stone at the door was still in order, and concealed the entrance down to the ninth century A.D. Khafra trusted merely to the hingeing door, and had no concealed passages, but Menkaura had portcullises in the passage, and this system continued

to the end of the Old Kingdom. It was, however, easy to mine past a portcullis, and the miserable wreckage which overtook all these pyramids, probably at the hands of the Syrian conquerors of the VIIth dynasty, made the kings of the XIIth dynasty very wary in their new schemes.

The entrances of pyramids had always been on the north and near the middle. Senusert II, at Lahun, placed his passages entirely in the rock, so that no amount of tunnelling in the pyramid structure could touch them. The entrances were on the south, toward the east side. One entrance was under the floor of the tomb of a princess, and a lesser shaft for workmen was covered by the pyramid paving. Amenemhat III, at Hawara, reverted to an entrance in the pyramid side, but on the south and toward the west. A long stairway led to a chamber, from which an open passage turned off to the right, while the continuation of the entrance line was blocked with stone. That, however, was a blind, some 80 feet long, which has been laboriously tunnelled through by ancient plunderers. The open passage led to a chamber, in which a sliding roof-block covered the entrance to another passage ; the same arrangement was then repeated, and at last a narrow chamber was revealed, full of masonry. When this was removed, two wells were seen, descending one on each side of the monolith chamber. A narrow

opening really led to the roof of the monolith, and there, instead of raising the roof-block, plunderers had broken the edge enough to put boys through to loot the chamber. The irony of the matter was that, of those successive roof trap-doors, the inner two had been left open, the workmen not being driven to the enormous labour of sliding them shut. They weighed 11 and 18 tons; the outer one, which was closed, weighs 22 tons. The foundations of two pyramids at Mazghuneh probably follow next after this. They have the same system of trap-doors, and the entrances were on the south and east. The pyramids have been entirely removed, if, indeed, they were ever completed (P.L., xxxix.–l.). Nothing is known of the VIIth—VIIIth dynasty kings, who came from Syria and were probably buried there; nor are any graves known of the IXth—Xth dynasty kings of Herakleopolis. The XIth dynasty has left rock tombs at Qurneh. After the XIIth, and until the XVIIth dynasty, no kings' tombs are known, except that Sebekem-saf II. and III. were buried at Qurneh; and of the robbery of the latter tomb in the XXth dynasty there is a full account in the Abbott papyrus.

The tombs of the XVIIIth—XXth dynasty kings are mostly known. They are all rock tombs with wide galleries, in the western valleys behind Qurneh. The entrances were all hidden by

mounds of rock chips, and the only internal concealment was by closing the passage with a wall painted with scenes, on the opposite side of a deep well-shaft. That was a scheme of Senusert III in his rock tomb at Abydos, a masterpiece of concealment, uniquely designed. Upon the slopes of the lower desert a large enclosure was laid out; to one side of it was a funnel opening, over 120 feet across, full of sand (A.C.W., xli.). This had all to be removed before the entrance could be reached at the bottom of the funnel. The passage below led to a chamber 30 feet long, with a roof representing semicircular beams; two lesser chambers branched on either hand. Searchers had cut away the roof, and so found a continuation of the passage at a higher level. This, after 93 feet, opened at the top of a deep chamber, dropping 30 feet. The passage really continued at the same level on the opposite side; after a short way, it drops into another chamber of the same size. Yet again, the passage really continued at the same level, but sloped down, and was entirely plugged for 73 feet with granite blocks; these ended in a chamber lined with blocks of yellow quartzite. Then a passage, 160 feet long, led to a chamber of yellow quartzite blocks, and another passage led 80 feet farther to a final chamber lined with quartzite. Yet all this did not disclose the burial. In the chamber at the end of the

plug blocks, only half way through the whole passages, behind the lining, was hidden the granite sarcophagus and canopic box. The whole construction was over 600 feet long. A temple stood in front of it on the desert edge. Another winding rock passage, 450 feet long, with a hall of eighteen pillars, was also made on the Abydos desert for Aohmes I (A.C.W., xlix.), and a pyramid was placed in front of this, on the desert edge. There is no proof that he was buried here, and it seems as if cenotaphs were erected at Abydos, perhaps containing some part of his body, in order to put him in connection with Osiris Khentamenti. So long as the tomb had any relation to the visible temple, or offering place, it was sure, sooner or later, to be opened. It was this certainty which drove the kings of the XVIIIth and following dynasties to put their tombs in a valley which had a screen of cliff entirely cutting them off from view of the corresponding temples. Those of Hatshepsut, Tehutmes III, and Amenhetep II seem to have the axis of their temple pointing to the tomb, but later kings entirely dropped any lineal connection between the two.

The kings of the XXIst dynasty were buried at Thebes, as the mummies were found transferred to the hiding-place at Deir el Bahri, but their tombs are unknown. No royal tombs or mum-

mies of later age have been discovered. The XXVIth dynasty kings were buried in above-ground chambers at Sais; ushabtis are known of them—Psemthek, Aohmes, Haa-ab-ra, the mother of Nekht-neb-ef, and Nekht-her-heb (in University College). The Ethiopian kings were all buried in Ethiopia.

The fullest accounts of the plundering of tombs are in the Abbott, Amherst, and Mayer papyri, dealing with the official inquiries, examinations of tombs, and trials of robbers in the reign of Ramessu X, sixteenth year, continuing to the sixth year of Ramessu XI (P.H.E., III., 180–185). There are also many endorsements on mummies that had been attacked, and therefore moved away from tomb to tomb to try to guard them.

It was very usual to re-use robbed tombs in later times. Sometimes the previous burial was entirely destroyed, but usually the bones were pushed to one side to make room for piles of poor mummies. The valuable tomb property was often sold for re-use in later burials, and it is usual to find that the name has been erased from a heart scarab and a rather later name substituted. The fine granite coffin of Pasar, the courier of Amenhetep II, was buried in his tomb at Qurneh; thence it was robbed by the time of Ramessu II, the name erased (except in one place), and re-inscribed for Pa-hen-neter, who was buried at Herakleopolis.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOLK BELIEFS

In the outline of the religious ideas given in previous chapters, the beliefs of the priesthood and educated classes have been stated. Such are the best known material, as depending mostly on written documents which have attracted scholars. The underlying folk beliefs have been much less observed, as the material is more of an archaeological nature. It has been noted above, where necessary, as a basis of the formal religion; but it seems needful to place together all those beliefs and practices which depend on instinctive faith of the people, and which have mostly descended from a remote period before the definitions of systematized religion.

It is recognised that there is a break between the popular religion and the priestly ordinances; it was to the popular and primitive deities that the personal devotion was given. The sacred animals and trees were the spring of faith to the rustic in his open fields.

Primitive Unity with Animals

Without entering on the vexed questions of the meaning and scope of Totemism, it is at least a familiar idea in many lands that different tribes are associated in a special manner with various animals. Usually, as in Egypt, a tribe claims to hold one species sacred; they call themselves by the name of that animal, and sometimes they claim descent from, or interchangeability with, such animals.

The various animals that were worshipped have been described in the third chapter. To these may be added others, as shown by the standards of the nomes: the bull, in four nomes of the Delta—Xois, Athribis, Pharbaethos, and Sebennytos; the oryx at Hebnu; the hare at Hermopolis; and the falcon at Koptos. Further, the slate palettes show the lion and scorpion as standards, and the crocodile we know to have been worshipped at Nubt, and opposite at Koptos, but to have been persecuted by the Tentyrites. Thus there were eighteen animals known to have been the special objects of tribal devotion.

Tribal Animosities

The animosity connected with such differences was by no means caused by one city worshipping

what the next city devoured. On the contrary, the animosity of tribes is deeper than their religious differences. The various objects of worship are merely the labels of antagonism. For 1,500 years the Egyptians have been taught unity under Christianity and Islam, and no local difference of nature or belief remains, yet the people of every village will say that those of the next place are "bad people," and the men from one side of the Nile will always hold aloof from those of the other side. There seems to be an inveterate distrust of the characters and intentions of every one outside of each community. Seeing that there were such fundamental differences in habits and beliefs, it is easy to credit the fierce antagonism which must have existed between adjacent cities.

The necessities of government sometimes compelled opposing peoples to live side by side (like the Scandinavians settled at Dublin in Ost-man or East-man town, now Oxmantown). So in Egypt, the old capital of the Delta was a double city, Pe and Dep, still visible as two separate mounds, though called Buto all together by the Greeks. Pe was the city of Horus, and Dep belonged probably to Set. Also, Thmuis worshipped the goat, and Mendes the ram, side by side as one city in later times. Thus even political and business connection during cen-

turies did not suffice to reconcile two opposing tribes. Tribal solidarity is an animal instinct which is far prehuman, and men readily adopted differences in religion as distinctive marks to prevent one race getting the benefits which belonged by right to another.

Tribal Badges

In the prehistoric remains, many amulets are found representing tribal animals: the baboon, dog, jackal, lion, hippopotamus, ram, bull, falcon, ibis, crocodile, uraeus, and scorpion. Such were worn not only in devotion to the tribal animal, but probably also as tribal badges. Some animals were generally venerated—such as the hippopotamus, represented standing upright, as the protecting mother deity, Ta-urt, "the great one," whose constellation covered a large part of the sky. This adoption of the hippopotamus must have preceded the agriculture of the first civilisation. Before that, the animal was an innocuous but notable creature; it was only after the growing of crops, which it raided at night, that man ranked it as injurious and linked it with the god Set. The serpent was looked on as beneficial and a protection to the house, the *agatho-daimon;* and in the Ist dynasty it was modelled in pottery around the hearth, copied

from the position it would naturally take for warmth during the night. It is still favoured in Egyptian houses. This view of it has been well explained as due to its clearance of rats and mice, which not only destroyed food, but which may have been considered as plague-carriers. Before the cat came, in the XVIIIth dynasty, the serpent was undoubtedly useful. Large amulets of the coiled serpent, a foot across, were hung up for protection in the house—some of stone, others of glazed pottery; lesser amulets were worn on the person.

Eating Devoted Animals

The position of the pig was a curious anomaly in Egypt, due to its being linked with the god Set, and therefore sharing in the patchwork appreciation of that god—in one place and time worshipped, in other conditions anathematized. Under the Persian rule the Egyptians considered the pig to be an impure beast, and therefore, if a man, in passing by a pig, should touch him with his clothing, he went to the river and plunged in, for purification. The swineherds, although Egyptians, were not allowed to enter any of the temples, and only intermarried among themselves. They thus formed an entirely separate caste, and it seems evident that they were a Set-worshipping tribe, excommunicated by the Osiride population.

Such a tribe was tolerated as supplying a means of vengeance. On the eve of the festival of Osiris, at full moon, every Egyptian slew a pig before his door—if too poor, they sacrificed a dough pig; they burnt some useless parts and then ate the rest, which on no other day in the year would they touch. The full moon festival commemorated the finding of the body of Osiris by Set as he hunted by moonlight, and then the Egyptian ate up his enemy, as personified in the pig.

The hippopotamus was another animal linked with Set, as we have noted above. But as Ta-urt it was honoured as the patroness of pregnancy, and the amulets of the goddess are among the commonest, from the VIIth dynasty onward. She also appears side by side with Bes, in domestic objects.

Not only was there eating of the symbolic animal in vengeance, but, also, eating the sacred animal was the bond of union of the tribe. At Thebes the sacrifice of the ram to Amen, and covering the statue of the god with the skin, was a popular rite, for all who were in the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram. Similarly, when sacrificing an ox (though not the worshipped Apis), the people beat themselves while the sacred parts were burning. Thus the act of sacrifice had to be expiated, although the flesh was eaten. The sacred Apis was also eaten, apparently once in

every generation, as twenty-five years is named as the limit of its age. An unopened sarcophagus in the Serapeum contained only the head and fragments of bone covered with resin. The head was never eaten, then or at any time. In many countries it is the custom to keep an animal in honour and comfort for a year before sacrifice. We may presume that the prehistoric Egyptians did the same, and hence arose the veneration of one sacred animal. The whole species was kin to the tribe, and the sacramental eating was needed to maintain the kinship, once in a year or once in a generation.

It may seem strange that the bones of a sacred animal should be preserved, while the flesh might be burnt or eaten. This is akin to the prehistoric idea that the flesh of a man might be removed, or eaten, or thrown away, while the importance lay in the bones, which were cleaned and reconstituted in the form of the body. In the IIIrd or IVth dynasty, at Meydum, the bones of nobles were entirely stripped, each wrapped separately in muslin, and then reconstituted as a skeleton (with some mistakes in arrangement) for an honoured burial.

The Tree Goddess

The most distinct part of primitive worship was that of the tree-goddess, who lived in the dense

foliage of the sycomore, and gave food to the *ba* spirit, and drink to moisten the *sahu* body. This subject was painted in the red recess in a room used for the family worship. The need of provision for the dead belongs to the earliest ages, as the graves always contain offerings, placed according to a definite ritual, in regular positions. In the age when writing first appears, the black cylinders are inscribed, "Give food to N.," and "Loving food." These are followed by longer inscriptions, which deal mainly with the prayer for thousands of bread and thousands of beer.

Festivals

The festivals were the bond of union of the people, which covered all the local differences and feuds and formed the corporate religious sense of the country. There is some confusion in statements about this subject, as, owing to the shifting calendar, it is needful to be certain whether the festival was in a fixed season (like Christmas) or attached to the shifting months (like Ramadan). The evidence that the difference of dates of most festivals between the XVIIIth dynasty and Ptolemaic lists is 304 days (302 to 308) shows that the shifting months only made slight irregularities in the seasonal place of the festivals. The temple festivals do not all belong to the popular occa-

sions, as some were solely ecclesiastical; but it will be seen, below, that in some cases temple festivals agree to seasonal events in the modern Coptic calendar and were therefore the formal expression of Nature festivals. For convenience of reference, we follow here the European year. As the Coptic calendar has shifted thirteen days onward, a connection may be at any point forward to within that limit.

Jan. 19.—Setting up of the *Zed* pillar, raising a great trunk of wood. This seems to mark the revival of tree life, like the "Ascent of sap in trees," placed at January 26 in the Coptic calendar.

March 21.—Festivals of Ptah and of Horus. End of winter quarter.

March 22.—Noruz Sultani, royal new year. Shem en Nessim, "smelling the breeze," the blessing in Book of the Dead. Lesser Tanta Fair.

June 18.—"Descent of the Drop" that starts the inundation.

June 19.—Sacrifice of the girl (Maqrizi).

Aug. 29 (shifted to Sept. 11).—New Year, 1 Thoth. Noruz. Before dawn, people go down to the Nile, drink from it ceremonially, swim about, and pray. This seems to be the old joy of "drinking water upon the swirl of the New Water" (A.E., 1921, 81).

Sept. 6.—Festival of fish eating, connected with calendar date of the "spawning of fish," on September 8.

Sept. 27.—17 Thoth. Feast of Uag, or the inundation. Now, the opening of the canals.

Oct. 1.—Going forth of Isis.

Oct. 2 (now 15).—Highest Nile (Coptic calendar).

Oct. 2.—5 Paophi. Highest Nile (Esneh calendar).

Oct. 3.—Isis realises the unborn Horus (6 Paophi).

Oct. 4.—Maximum of the Nile.

Nov. 11–14.—Slaying of Osiris, and planting "gardens" of barley for his resurrection.

Nov. 11–12.—General sowing and planting (Coptic calendar).

The Harvest festival could not be fixed, as, owing to the length of Egypt, the wheat harvest in Upper Egypt is reckoned to begin April 2nd, and in Lower Egypt May 2nd. At this festival the great stack of threshed corn was heaped together, the rakes and winnowing boards were stuck upright in it, and all the harvesters gathered in front of a little shrine, where they made their offerings to the goddess Rannut, who was figured as a cobra, upreared.

The Feast of Lamps was also universal, when

lamps were lighted in the open air and burnt all night, probably at the Osiris festival.

There was a popular belief, recorded by Lucian, that the Adonis feast at Byblos was marked by the floating of a papyrus head of Osiris from Egypt to Byblos. Cyril describes it as a vessel of papyrus, bearing the message that Adonis was alive.

There appears to have been a popular festival of Apis at Memphis, as bull-fights were held in the approach to the temple of Apis, and bulls were bred expressly for this ceremony, which went back at least to the XIXth dynasty.

The great festival at Bubastis was the greatest in ancient times. Seven hundred thousand are stated to have attended, in the Persian age. The great feast of Tanta at present draws 600,000 to 700,000, and at different times is reckoned at from half a million to one million. There were, going to Bubastis, crowded barges full of men and women, festive and rowdy, with music and clapping, and indecent insults to the people whom they passed. Obviously all restraints were thrown away; more wine was drunk at that festival than in all the rest of the year. Though the fair at Tanta now does not bring respectable women to join it, it draws plenty of others, and is obviously a perpetuation of the old Delta festival, which was probably prehistoric.

Dancing was largely religious. In the Ist dynasty, the crown prince as well as the subjects danced before the king at the installation festival. At later accessions, the king himself danced various ritual dances, which are figured on the monuments. Dancing was a feature of the Bubastis festival. At funerals there was a dance, which may be seen continued at present; one woman will stand beating a tambourine, and half a dozen others will circle round her, shrieking and wailing. This will be repeated at every hundred yards on the way to visit the cemetery.

The ascetic Therapeutae, in the first century A.D., greatly used dancing. At their great gatherings, held every seven weeks, they "keep the holy all-night festival . . . one band beating time to the answering chant of the other," like a modern *zikr* of country folk, "dancing to its music . . . turning and re-turning in the dance."

The dances represented on the tombs of the Old Kingdom seem to be mostly mere performances for show, such as the high kick; but those performed with wands, by a company all keeping in unison, may well have been ritual.

A very ancient popular festival is that of the mock king, which survived in Upper Egypt till the last century. A peasant was dressed with an imitation of the crown of that region, and a false beard; he carried a long sceptre. During his

annual day of office, every one obeyed him, even the governor gave way, till at last the dress was burnt away and the relic of power was over. This throws light on the account of Shabaka burning Bakneranf alive; he was treated like a mock king, the burning ceremonially destroying his kingly character. The account is the more striking as Shabaka had a great reputation for his mildness and kind rule. A picture by Rifaud shows that the mock king festival was at the time of date harvest—September or October in Upper Egypt—agreeing with the present date of Noruz, at New Year, September 11.

Popular Offerings

The public ritual and sacrifices sprang originally from a habit of private offerings which continued in the country regions, scarcely changed by the later developments. One of the most complete pictures of the rural offering has, strangely, been preserved in the Greek anthology: "O goddess clad in linen, who governest the fertile black land of Egypt, honour these offerings with thy presence; this cake, this couple of geese, this ointment, these wild figs, these dried raisins, and this incense are already on the altar. Thou hast protected Damis from the dangers of the sea; if thou wilt also deliver him from

poverty, he will offer you a fawn with gilded horns."

The modern Egyptian ululation of joy seems to have been the accompaniment of these offerings, though as little understood by the Western as it is to-day. Diodoros says: "In the time of harvest the inhabitants offer the first-fruits of the ears of corn, howling and wailing about the handfuls they offer, and invoking this goddess Isis." These rural offerings are sometimes represented, where the peasant in his cornfield bows to the holy sycomore, offering jars of drink, an ox head, dishes of vegetables, and a platter piled with figs.

A well-known form of offering in ancient and modern times is the hair, cut off, or the weight of the hair in gold or silver. If the Egyptian made a vow to a god, he shaved all, or a part, of the hair of a child, and weighed it against silver. This silver served to purchase food for the sacred animal of the god. This kind of vow was commonly made during illness.

To gain the attention of the gods, there arose the strange custom of carving ears upon the tablet of prayers. Thus it was thought that the god would more readily hear the petition. In extreme examples there are dozens of ears on a single tablet. Another claim for attention was touching the statue, or else anointing it, or

rubbing its face violently. The Egyptian never went to the Neapolitan extreme of beating his gods or dragging them in the gutter.

There was a religious tone in his daily life. This persisted into the Greek times. Calasiris said, " First, as is the custom of the Egyptian sages, let us make a libation to the gods." He then poured pure water out of the vase, saying, " I make this libation to the gods of this country, and those of Greece."

Each temple had claims over the surrounding district, and the priests would object to having their contributories diminished. It was therefore needful to have a definite permission, or order, to establish a fresh centre of worship. The decree for a new town, which would not be subject to the claims from any other temple, but be an independent centre, is, fortunately, preserved. In that, Pepy II specifies the formal act, " My Majesty has ordered setting up a mast of foreign wood in this new town." The erection of a Syrian fir-tree created a new centre, and that must have been the focus of the popular worship, like the mast with crossed arrows of Neit in the midst of her courtyard, in the Ist dynasty. Such a symbol for worship is familiar elsewhere. In the Mahabarata " all kings . . . plant a pole for the celebration of Indra's worship," and in England every village had its maypole as a

ceremonial centre, which even the Church had not abolished.

Shrines in Daily Life

Besides the village centre, there were also many wayside shrines, like the *wely* of any holy man now. There the passer-by will mutter a wish or a prayer, or stop and look in to recite a sacred sentence, or walk in and go round the cenotaph in his devotions. The shrines of ancient times have all perished, but we may see them in the pottery models which were made in Roman times, and were probably kept as domestic shrines. The simplest has a low dwarf wall enclosing a square with a side entrance; a column placed at each corner supported an arched roof over the space. A similar form, made of wood, was mounted on wheels to carry an image for an itinerant priest. More solid structures were of brick, with latticed windows, covered with a ridge roof, and the gable in front. Where land had become valuable in a town and the importance of the shrine increased, it could only be extended upward. The open shrine was raised on a few steps, with lamps burning on each side of the entrance; there were two storeys of rooms above it, and at the top a panel in the gable with the figure of the god. Portable shrines were made with doors in front, about 2 feet high; such were carried about the

streets by priests with poles resting on their shoulders, like the great barques of the gods in the temple, or the Jewish ark. Elsewhere a chubby boy with the attributes of Horus was put in a basket chair on wheels, and could be taken round the country, like the objects of piety of the Syrian goddess which Lucian describes, or the pole covered with rags and baits which attract contributions to a modern derwish.

In the houses there were permanent places for worship, marked by a recess in the main hall, about two feet wide, coloured red. We get some idea of the meaning of the red recess by the examples in the tomb of King Zet, of the Ist dynasty; there, the red paint marks the doorways by which the offerings and the funeral chamber could be reached by the spirit; the colour seems to have constituted a spiritual passage. The recesses in the halls of houses at Tell Amarna were found thrice on the west wall, twice on the south, once on the east, but never on the north. This agrees with the Egyptian Osiride worship being generally to the west. Usually the walls are in ruins and the recess destroyed. But in one instance, on the western wall of room 52 at the Ramesseum, a painting was found at the top of a red recess. This represented the most primitive worship of the tree-goddess, with the cow's head of Hather, standing on a sycomore to pour out

drink to a kneeling figure of the *ka* in a long robe, who has come out of a tomb chapel on the desert slope behind him. Below is the human-headed *ba* bird, picking up food from the goddess. Thus the tree-goddess, who would feed the dead, was the object of domestic worship of the living. There was also another tree-goddess in Roman times, a slender figure like Aphrodite, standing between two palm trees. This figure was of pottery for domestic worship, and may be a late form of the goddess with palm branches rising from the head, who was worshipped in the XIIth dynasty at the Labyrinth. There were, then, tree-goddesses both of the sycomore and of the palm.

A multitude of cheap pottery figures of the gods were made in Greek and Roman times, moulded in front, with a plain back, pierced for hanging up. Such were, however, probably of Greek introduction, though adopted for Egyptian gods, as similar figures are found in great numbers at Tarsus. It is hardly likely that such a form of worship was new. Some centuries earlier there were many stone tablets with the figure of Horus treading down and subduing all evil creatures, and such was a household talisman and an object of adoration. There are also many bronze figures of various gods, up to 8 or 10 inches high, which are found often remote from temples,

and which were likely to have been intended for household worship. Lamps had sometimes the standing figure of a deity at the back of them, and for this the cross was substituted later.

The custom of washing the feet when going into a sanctuary is usual in the East. A tank, and paved area for cleanliness, adjoins what seems to have been a place of devotion in the XIIth dynasty at Kahun. In the XVIIIth dynasty there were built, in the temple of Hather in Sinai, a large court with circular basin in the middle, and a lesser court with a tank, while a third tank, for washing, stood at the side of the entrance. The centre of the Jewish court, of tabernacle and of temple, was a great circular tank for washing, as to this day is to be seen in every mosque of Islam. At Koptos were many small tanks for foot-washing in the temple; one belonged to a very exclusive person, who marked it "the place of Aristios Saturneinos."

Magic

The idea of control to be gained by influence was as well adapted to the spiritual as to the material world. The scope of such influence was universal; for the living, magic protected from the violence of Nature and of savage beasts, from the malignity of ghosts and evil spirits, and spells

enabled man to understand the ever-present supernatural, to know what all animals said, and to see the unseen ; for the dead, the spells of the Book of the Dead and other magic texts protected them in the future life.

The methods of performing magic were very varied. In the first prehistoric civilisation, tusks of hippopotami were carved with human heads at the top ; they have been found in pairs, one solid, one hollow. Such tusks are carved in Central Africa at present. The Gold Coast negroes believe that white men can enchant their souls into a tusk of ivory, and so carry them away into slavery. Such tusks were found in a box with three slate mannikins, probably a magician's outfit. Various small figures of slate—birds, human head, and horns—were probably for magical use in prehistoric times. In the early dynasties, the use of wax figures for magic was recognised ; a wax crocodile thrown into the water would turn into a real crocodile to do what was intended. Wax figures were used in the XXth dynasty for bewitching the inmates of the palace, and similarly figures of wax and of lead were made in Roman times. The tales of Dedi in the Old Kingdom, of Bata's heart in the New Kingdom, and of Setna in the Ptolemaic age, are all of them based on magic.

The magic of spells was most potent. The

future life would be entirely controlled by it, as shown in the collection of spells in the Book of the Dead. As time went on, there were superadded all the mysterious words and names of foreign peoples. A maghrabi at the present day is looked on as a magician. In the later times there arose a mixture of words and sentences of potency, which probably no one understood. There were long directions regarding the purity, the clothing, the decoration of those who used the magic formulae. As in modern times, parts of the bodies of those who were murdered, or of their murderers, were considered of efficacy. A weird account of an enchantment is given by Heliodoros. An old woman dug a pit, lighted a fire on each side of it, and placed the dead body of her son between the fires. Honey, milk, and wine were poured into the trench with a mannikin of dough. Then with frantic invocations, she cut herself with a sword and sprinkled her blood over the fire. Then whispering to the corpse, by her spells it stood upright, and she questioned it, answered by nods, until it fell down on its face. She tried to raise it again by spells, and at last it spoke, prophesying the mother's violent death.

So innate was this belief in magic that it led to the provision of models and of drawings, of the food and other things that were provided for the future life. At first these drawings were of the

real size of the objects, but afterwards mere sketches sufficed. The greatest reliance on magic was in the XIIth dynasty, when a great alabaster jar with a magical inscription would provide a princess with whatever she wanted.

The magic action would even result without any human intention. This appears from the mutilated form of signs in the Pyramid texts and in the XIIth dynasty. The animal figures in inscriptions are often carved without legs, or with the neck severed. This was not done for fear of injurious action of the animal, as it is applied to the harmless goose and chick; it could only be to prevent their escape from the formulae, which would thus be ruined and ineffective.

Magic spells were used for the protection of children, for the cure of bee stings, and Dion Cassios reports that an Egyptian magician in the Roman army, Arnuphius (Hor-nefer), invoked Tehuti and other spirits so as to obtain rain.

The thirty-six decans of the year have each a spirit, which presided over one of the thirty-six parts of the human body. Thus formulae to repel the evil spirits of disease could find help in the spirit of the appropriate decan of the part involved.

The idea of the evil eye was known in some forms in Egypt. Animals were supposed to fascinate by the look, and some men were of evil influence, or acquired it by the evil nature of the

day. The early date of such belief seems shown by proto-dynastic carving of a row of doors, each with a bucranion over it, and the bucranion over the shrine of Shedet, in the Fayum ; such cannot be separated from the protection against the evil eye by hanging up bulls' skulls in Malta, Algiers, Majorca, and Spain.

The calendar specified each day as lucky, unlucky, or mixed ; such properties, of course, intensified or diminished all other influences. So the modern Coptic calendar specifies certain days as good or bad for various operations.

The importance of horoscopes was much regarded. Herodotos says that each month and day belonged to a special god, and by the day of birth the fate of the person is determined. The Egyptians also recorded prodigies and the succeeding events as a means of forecasting, much as did the Babylonians. There was also a great regard for oracles of Hershefi, Horus, Neit, Bastet, Mentu, Amen, and, above all, Uazet. Later we know there was a celebrated oracle of Bes at Abydos. Omens from stray events—such as the prattle of children—were also observed, though not with the absurd deference of the Romans. The development of horoscopes seems to have been mainly in the XIXth dynasty. They are figured on the temple of Ramessu II and the tomb of Ramessu VI, and all children born under

the same auspices seem to have been assigned a similar future, as suggested by the account of the 1,700 children who were born the same day as Ramessu being fostered with him.

Amulets

The use of amulets was both for the living person and also for the protection of the dead. They are by no means equally valued in different lands. The Libyan did not care for them when he brought the earliest civilisation into Egypt, nor does he notice them now. The earliest are found in the second prehistoric civilisation, which was Eastern in source; they are of animal figures—the baboon, jackal, lion, hippopotamus, ram, bull, falcon, pelican, serpent, eel, frog, scorpion, locust, scarab, green beetle, and fly. In the early dynasties there are few known; but by the VIth dynasty they became frequent, and they abound under the Syrian VIIth and VIIIth dynasties. Under the IXth and Xth dynasties, which were Libyan, amulets almost disappear. Under the XVIIIth dynasty there are but few; but the Eastern influence of the XIXth dynasty brought them into prominence. The great flood of amulets for the dead belong to the XXVIth to XXXth dynasties. Many were used for the living, in the Roman period.

The meanings of amulets may be divided into five classes. First, those that act by similarity, such as the parts of the body, in order to preserve those parts—as hands put on the wrists, or legs put on the ankles of the dead; the green papyrus for growth; the watchful animals' heads, or claw, or tooth, to protect from animals. There are twenty-four kinds of such amulets, seventeen of parts of the body; also frog, fly, papyrus, jackal and leopard heads, claw, tooth, and locust. The second class are those for conferring powers by emblems of powers and qualities, some by natural resemblance, as the "great" bird, the "soul" bird, the "boy" bird; others by symbolical meanings, as the following: the girdle tie for "life," the *nefer* for excellence, the sistrum for joy, the *menat* for health, the head-rest for possessing the head, the columns of heaven for stability, the square and plummet for rectitude, the forked lance to open the mouth, the various head-dresses, crowns and royal emblems for different powers, the sign of millions for duration, the bound captive for control of enemies. There are thirty-five kinds of amulets of powers.

The third class is of amulets of property, twenty-one in all; models of the food and personal outfit, clothing, weapons, and seal.

The fourth class of protective amulets is larger, fifty-five in all. They are various emblems,

animals to confer protection, many kinds of shells, knotted cords, written charms, engraved gems, and the cross.

The fifth class is of theophoric amulets, derived from the recognised theology. Forty-two of these are the purely human gods, twenty-four are of animal-headed gods, and sixty-seven are of animals and plants nearly all known to have a place in the religion.

The Spiritual Life

So far, we have reviewed the externals of religion, the temples, and the popular feasts. We still need to see how much real life there was within these externals.

In the XVIIIth dynasty, direct inspiration is claimed by Hatshepsut: "I remembered him who fashioned me, my heart led me to make for him two obelisks. . . . I have done this from a loving heart for my father Amen. . . . I was wise by his excellent spirit. I did not forget anything of that which he executed. My Majesty knoweth that he is divine. I did it under his command, he it was who led me. I conceived not any works without his doing, he it was who gave me direction. I slept not because of his temple, I erred not from that which he commanded, my heart was wise before my Father, I entered upon the affairs of his heart."

A little later there is the record of the sun-god in all his forms appearing to Tehutmes IV in a dream, and directing him to clear the Sphinx at Gizeh from the sand which covered it. This shows what kind of divine direction was expected and regarded. Dreams were the natural and simple mode of guidance by the gods, and men sought for such help, especially by sleeping in temples, and for curative purposes. A magician was believed to be capable of compelling a god to send certain dreams, either prophetic or in answer to a question. Written questions were employed, either to be laid before the god or to be repeated by the priest, along with invocations for divine help.

From the earliest days there was a craving for association with the gods. This was the natural equivalent of the worldly advantage of belonging to the followers of a great noble. We are familiar with this in the clustering of houses round a Norman castle ; in an unsettled state of society the patronage of a powerful leader is the happiest road in life. So it doubtless was in prehistoric Egypt, and thus the association with the good gods was the way of protection against the evils of the future life. The sky-goddess, Nut, was besought to guard the dead that came to her. The desire to ascend to the gods in the sky was expressed by wanting the ladder to go up, an

image naturally adopted by a people accustomed to go up ladders to their homes in the trees, as in East Africa at present, and as shown by the figures of the huts in the land of Punt. When the Osiris worship came into Egypt, the desire for the future was to be accepted as a subject in the kingdom of Osiris. When the Ra worship arrived, the wish was to join the company of the gods who form the retinue of Ra in his great vessel in the sky. The phrases of King Unas devouring the gods in order to acquire their powers, and men eating the sacred animal in order to be one with the holy species, are other manifestations of this craving for sharing the divine nature.

The idea of a covenant was always present, though not expressed as it was by the Hebrews. The king made offerings in order that the god should grant him favour. The private man gave endowments to the gods in order to get their protection for his reversion of the offerings after the gods had enjoyed them. In the Book of the Dead (178) the gods are besought: "Feed N. with you; let him eat what you eat, drink as you drink, sit as you sit."

Mysticism and Quietism

In this wish to associate with the gods, mere excitement and noisy agitation bear no part. As

a later writer expressed it (500 B.C.), they felt "the divine beauty of the rich majesty of night." To one who looks on the glorious expanse of stars in silence, the distant village drumming is a revolting distraction, petty and childish. In the XIXth dynasty Any says: "He who exalts his spirit by praise, by adoration, by incense in his works, so that devotion is in his affairs—he who does thus, God shall magnify his name." Further, "That which is detestable in the sanctuary of God are noisy feasts; if thou implore him with a loving heart of which all the words are mysterious, he will do thy matters, he hears thy words, he accepts thine offering." On a stele of that age there is a prayer, not for physical benefits, but only for "a sweet heart every day." Elsewhere God is addressed: "Thou sweet Well for him who thirsteth in the desert; it is closed to him who speaks, but it is open to him who is silent. When he who is silent comes, lo, he finds the Well." Here the essence of quietism is reached; and by about 350 B.C. some felt that "Good is holy silence, and a giving of holiday to every sense." "Pray to catch a single ray of thought of the Unmanifest, by contemplating the order of Nature, inanimate and animate." "Who then may sing Thy praise of Thee, or to Thee? Whither am I to turn my eyes to sing Thy praise? above, below, within, without? . . . All are in

Thee ; all are from Thee ; of Thou who givest all and takest nought, for Thou hast all, and nought is there Thou hast not."

This mystic frame of mind was largely influenced by Indian thought during the Persian dynasties. The doctrine of rebirth, favoured by throwing all the bodily senses into abeyance, and brought to pass by driving out the twelve inner torments by their antitheses, is evidently due to Indian influence. The other symbols of divine acceptance are the ray of God shining in the mind so that *daimons* cannot act upon it, and the baptism in the Font of Mind to become partaker of the divine knowledge. Neither of these are Egyptian ideas, and they show the Asiatic influence.

About the same time there seems to be some Jewish influence, moral rather than intellectual in its advance. In the tomb of Petosiris, he says : " Amenti is the dwelling of him who is without sin ; happy is the man who reaches it. None can come there but he whose heart is true and does right." " Good is the way of man who obeys God ; happy is he whose heart strives to follow Him. I will have you informed of the will of God ; I will have you advance in the knowledge of His Holy Spirit. If I have come to the eternal home, it is because I have been good upon earth, and my heart is fully on the ways of God, from my

infancy unto this day. All the night the Spirit of God is in my soul, and I rise in the morning to do that which He loves. I have done justice, I have detested wickedness. . . . I have not agreed with those who know not the Spirit of God, but I lean on those who act according to His will." There seems an echo of the Psalms in this, and the Jewish settlements in Upper Egypt, three centuries earlier, may well have been the source.

These purely personal aspirations found little foothold amid the luxury of the Ptolemies and the immense wealth of the priesthood, devoted to the enormous temple building still seen at Dendereh, Esneh, and Edfu, which then covered Egypt with such monuments of ostentation. As the splendour of mediaeval building left but little ground for the earnest faith of the friars, so the priestly glories left out of account the quietism which had been growing out of a more spiritual knowledge. The mystics withdrew to the friendly solitude of Nature, always on either hand in Egypt, and they settled by about 350 B.C. in the region at the back of the Fayum Lake. There they would be readily in touch with Memphis, one day's ride across the desert. By 170 B.C. there were recluses in the Serapeum, then an almost deserted sanctuary, where space and solitude were available. There, one man was "possessed by the Lord Sarapis," and another

was "possessed of the Holy Celestial God." About two hundred years later, the mode of life of the Therapeutae, who lived as a religious community in the desert near Alexandria, is fully described by Philon. This was, apparently, an old-established settlement, and it gives a glimpse of the development that had gone on among the Nonconformists of Egypt in the three centuries before Christianity. Their sacred books are often mentioned, and, as the Hermetic books would closely accord with all we read of the Therapeutae, and there was no other public body with which they are associated, it seems pretty certain that in the Hermetic books we have the stages of thought which had formed the spiritual food of this movement. The influence of India is plain in the writings and the mode of life, and the latter was probably shaped by the Buddhist mission of Asoka (260 B.C.). Thus passed the older Egyptian faiths, influenced by the thoughts of the races around them, until Christianity came to take possession of the beliefs in the Logos, and Baptism, and Rebirth, and to accept the terrible legacy of monasticism which the Indian had given to Egypt.

We have now traced the course of the religious life in Egypt from its savage beginnings to its latest development. It was on this, which manifested a strangely modern character, that

Christianity was grafted. The old Egyptian intolerance blazed up again in the slaughter at the Serapeum and the ferocity of a Cyril—so little can the instincts of a people be altered by changes of belief.

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